Old South Leaflets.

The Opening of the West.

Old South Meeting House, Boston,
1893.

THE

OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

ELEVENTH SERIES,

1893.

BOSTON:
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE,
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INTRODUCTION.

THE OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS are prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be sustained in many other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: "Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Plymouth," by MRS. A. M. DIAZ. "Concord," by FRANK B. SANBORN. "The Town-Meeting," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Franklin, the Boston Boy," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "How to Study American History," by PROF. G. STANLEY HALL. "The Year 1777," by JOHN FISKE. "History in the Boston Streets," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather's account of Governor Bradford, from the "Magnalia;" (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod, from Bradford's Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson's Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville and others, upon the Town-Meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin's Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner's oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson's poem, "Boston."

The lectures for 1884 were devoted to men representative of certain epochs or ideas in the history of Boston, as follows: "Sir Harry Vane, in New England and in Old England," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR. "John Harvard, and the Founding of Harvard College," by EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D. "The Mather Family, and the Old Boston Ministers," by REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS. "Simon Bradstreet, and the Struggle for the Charter," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "Samuel Adams, and the Beginning of the Revolution," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Josiah Quincy, the Great Mayor," by CHARLES W. SLACK. "Daniel Webster, the Defender of the Constitution," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "John A. Andrew, the Great War Governor," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. The Leaflets prepared in connection with the second course were as follows: (1) Selections from Forster's essay on Vane, etc.; (2) an extract from Cotton Mather's "Sal Gentium;" (3) Increase Mather's "Narrative of the Miseries of New England;" (4) an original account of "The Revolution

in New England" in 1689; (5) a letter from Samuel Adams to John Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.

The lectures for 1885 were upon "The War for the Union," as follows: "Slavery," by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, JR. "The Fall of Sumter," by COL. T. W. HIGGINSON. "The Monitor and the Merrimac," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "The Battle of Gettysburg," by COL. THEODORE A. DODGE. "Sherman's March to the Sea," by GEN. WILLIAM COGSWELL. "The Sanitary Commission," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Abraham Lincoln," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "General Grant," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. The Leaflets accompanying these lectures were as follows: (1) Lowell's "Present Crisis," and Garrison's Salutatory in the *Liberator* of January 1, 1831; (2) extract from Henry Ward Beecher's oration at Fort Sumter in 1865; (3) contemporary newspaper accounts of the engagement between the Monitor and the Merrimac; (4) extract from Edward Everett's address at the consecration of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, with President Lincoln's address; (5) extract from General Sherman's account of the March to the Sea, in his Memoirs; (6) Lowell's "Commemoration Ode;" (7) extract from Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the Second Inaugural Address; (8) account of the service in memory of General Grant, in Westminster Abbey, with Archdeacon Farrar's address.

The lectures for 1886 were upon "The War for Independence," as follows: "Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry," by EDWIN D. MEAD. "Bunker Hill, and the News in England," by JOHN FISKE. "The Declaration of Independence," by JAMES MACALLISTER. "The Times that Tried Men's Souls," by ALBERT B. HART, PH.D. "Lafayette, and Help from France," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW. "The Women of the Revolution," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. "Washington and his Generals," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Lessons of the Revolution for these Times," by REV. BROOKE HERFORD. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Words of Patrick Henry; (2) Lord Chatham's Speech, urging the removal of the British troops from Boston; (3) extract from Webster's oration on Adams and Jefferson; (4) Thomas Paine's "Crisis," No. 1; (5) extract from Edward Everett's eulogy on Lafayette; (6) selections from the Letters of Abigail Adams; (7) Lowell's "Under the Old Elm;" (8) extract from Whipple's essay on "Washington and the Principles of the Revolution."

The course for the summer of 1887 was upon "The Birth of the Nation," as follows: "How the Men of the English Commonwealth Planned Constitutions," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "How the American Colonies grew together," by JOHN FISKE. "The Confusion after the Revolution," by DAVIS R. DEWEY, PH.D. "The Convention and the Constitution," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. "James Madison and his Journal," by PROF. E. B. ANDREWS. "How Patrick Henry Opposed the Constitution," by HENRY L. SOUTHWICK. "Alexander Hamilton and the *Federalist*." "Washington's Part and the Nation's First Years," by EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets prepared for these lectures were as follows: (1) Extract from Edward Everett Hale's lecture on "Puritan Politics in England and New England;" (2) "The English Colonies in America," extract from De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America;" (3) Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, on Disbanding the Army; (4) The Constitution of the United States; (5) "The Last Day of the Constitutional Convention," from Madison's Journal; (6) Patrick Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) The Federalist, No. IX; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.

The course for the summer of 1888 had the general title of "The Story of the Centuries," the several lectures being as follows: "The Great Schools after the Dark Ages," by EPHRAIM EMERTON, Professor of History in Harvard University. "Richard the Lion-Hearted and the Crusades," by MISS NINA MOORE, author of "Pilgrims and Puritans." "The World which Dante knew," by SHATTUCK O. HARTWELL, Old South first-prize essayist, 1883. "The Morning Star of the Reformation," by REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM. "Copernicus and Columbus, or the New Heaven and the New Earth," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE. "The People for whom Shakespeare wrote," by CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. "The Puritans and the English Revolution," by CHARLES H. LEVERMORE, Professor of History in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "Lafayette and the Two Revolutions which he saw," by GEORGE MAKEPEACE TOWLE.

The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But it is a constant aim to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889 and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures, the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful. — 11th Century: Lanfranc, the great mediæval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died, 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I crowned, 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastile fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's *History of the English People;* (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the *Chronicle* of Geoffrey de Vinsauf; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's *De Monarchia;* (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's *Cosmos;* (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's *Annals;* (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal Government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France, as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by CHARLES C. COFFIN. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by Rev. W. E. GRIFFIS. "The Jesuit Missionaries in America," by PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. "Wolfe and Montcalm: the Struggle of England and France for the Continent," by JOHN FISKE. "Franklin in France," by GEORGE M. TOWLE. "The Friendship of Washington and Lafayette," by MRS. ABBA GOOLD WOOLSON. "Thomas Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase," by ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, Old South prize essayist, 1888.

"The Year 1789," by REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE. The Leaflets for the year were as follows: (1) Verrazzano's account of his Voyage to America; (2) Marquette's Account of his Discovery of the Mississippi; (3) Mr. Parkman's Histories; (4) The Capture of Quebec, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" (5) Selections from Franklin's Letters from France; (6) Letters of Washington and Lafayette; (7) The Declaration of Independence; (8) The French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789.

The lectures for the summer of 1890 were on "The American Indians," as follows: "The Mound Builders," by PROF. GEORGE H. PERKINS; "The Indians whom our Fathers Found," by GEN. H. B. CARRINGTON; "John Eliot and his Indian Bible," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "King Philip's War," by MISS CAROLINE C. STECKER, Old South prize essayist, 1889; "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," by CHARLES A. EASTMAN, M.D., of the Sioux nation; "A Century of Dishonor," by HERBERT WELSH; "Among the Zunis," by J. WALTER FEWKES, Ph.D.; "The Indian at School," by GEN. S. C. ARMSTRONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Extract from address by William Henry Harrison on the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley; (2) Extract from Morton's "New English Canaan" on the Manners and Customs of the Indians; (3) John Eliot's "Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," 1670; (4) Extract from Hubbard's "Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians" (1677) on the Beginning of King Phillip's War; (5) The Speech of Pontiac at the Council at the River Ecorces, from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac;" (6) Extract from Black Hawk's autobiography, on the Cause of the Black Hawk War; (7) Coronado's Letter to Mendoza (1540) on his Explorations in New Mexico; (8) Eleazar Wheelock's Narrative (1762) of the Rise and Progress of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn.

The lectures for 1891, under the general title of "The New Birth of the World," were devoted to the important movements in the age preceding the discovery of America, the several lectures being as follows: "The Results of the Crusades," by F. E. E. HAMILTON, Old South prize essayist, 1883; "The Revival of Learning," by PROF. ALBERT B. HART; "The Builders of the Cathedrals," by PROF. MARSHALL S. SNOW; "The Changes which Gunpowder made," by FRANK A. HILL; "The Decline of the Barons," by WILLIAM EVERETT; "The Invention of Printing," by REV. EDWARD G. PORTER; "When Michael Angelo was a Boy," by HAMLIN GARLAND; "The Discovery of America," by REV. E. E. HALE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) "The Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," from the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury; (2) Extract from More's "Utopia;" (3) "The Founding of Westminster Abbey," from Dean Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey;" (4) "The Siege of Constantinople," from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire;" (5) "Simon de Montfort," selections from Chronicles of the time; (6) "Caxton at Westminster," extract from Blade's Life of William Caxton; (7) "The Youth of Michael Angelo," from Vasari's "Lives of the Italian Painters;" (8) "The Discovery of America," from Ferdinand Columbus's life of his father.

The lectures for 1892 were upon "The Discovery of America," as follows: "What Men Knew of the World before Columbus," by PROF. EDWARD S. MORSE; "Leif Erikson and the Northmen," by REV. EDWARD A. HORTON; "Marco Polo and his Book," by Mr. O. W. DIMMICK; "The Story of Columbus," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE; "Americus Vespucius and the Early Books about America," by REV. E. G. PORTER; "Cortes and Pizarro," by PROF. CHAS. H. LEVERMORE; "De Soto and Ponce de Leon," by MISS RUTH BALLOU WHITTEMORE, Old South Prize Essayist, 1891; "Spain, France, and England in America," by MR. JOHN FISKE. The

Leaflets were as follows: (1) Strabo's Introduction to Geography; (2) The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red; (3) Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java; (4) Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing his First Voyage; (5) Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage; (6) Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico; (7) The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas;" (8) Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots.

The lectures for 1893 were upon "The Opening of the Great West," as follows: "Spain and France in the Great West," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "The Northwest Territory and the Ordinance of 1787," by JOHN M. MERRIAM; "Washington's Work in Opening the West," by EDWIN D. MEAD; "Marietta and the Western Reserve," by MISS LUCY W. WARREN, Old South prize essayist, 1892; "How the Great West was settled," CHARLES C. COFFIN; "Lewis and Clarke and the Explorers of the Rocky Mountains," by REV. THOMAS VAN NESS; "California and Oregon," by PROF. JOSIAH ROYCE; "The Story of Chicago," by MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535; (2) Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787; (3) Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770; (4) Garfield's Address on the Northwest Territory and the Western Reserve; (5) George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779; (6) Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis; (7) Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak; (8) Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.

The Leaflets for 1883 are now mostly out of print. Those for 1884 and subsequent years, bound in flexible cloth or paper covers, may be procured for thirty-five cents per volume.

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published, during the last eleven years, in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting House, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service, that the Directors have entered upon the publication of a *general series* of Leaflets, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or three dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. Schools and the trade will be supplied by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co. The Old South work is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics, and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of this *general series* of Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the first forty-six numbers which are now ready. It will be noticed that several of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in some of the annual series.

No. **1.** The Constitution of the United States. **2.** The Articles of Confederation. **3.** The Declaration of Independence. **4.** Washington's Farewell Address. **5.** Magna Charta. **6.** Vane's "Healing Question." **7.** Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. **8.** Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. **9.** Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. **10.** Washington's

Inaugurals. **11.** Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. **12.** The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. **13.** The Ordinance of 1787. **14.** The Constitution of Ohio.* **15.** Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. **16.** Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. **17.** Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524. **18.** The Constitution of Switzerland.* **19.** The Bill of Rights, 1689. **20.** Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. **21** Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians, 1670. **22.** Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762. **23.** The Petition of Rights, 1628. **24.** The grand Remonstrance. **25.** The Scottish National Covenants. **26.** The Agreement of the People. **27.** The Instrument of Government. **28.** Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament. **29.** The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand Columbus. **30.** Strabo's Introduction to Geography. **31.** The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. **32.** Marco Polo's account of Japan and Java. **33** Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery. **34.** Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. **35.** Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. **36.** The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." **37.** Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. **38.** Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. **39.** De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. **40.** Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio. 1787. **41.** Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. **42.** Garfield's Address on the Northwest Territory and the Western Reserve. **43.** George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. **44.** Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. **45.** Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. **46.** Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History and Politics have also published a manual of the Constitution of the United States, with bibliographical and historical notes and outlines for study, by Edwin D. Mead. This manual is published for the use of schools and of such clubs, classes and individual students as may wish to make a careful study of the Constitution and its history. Our societies of young men and women entering upon historical and political studies can do nothing better to begin with than to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the Constitution. It is especially with such societies in view that the table of topics for study, which follows the very full bibliographical notes in this manual, has been prepared. A copy of the manual will be sent to any address on receipt of twenty-five cents; one hundred copies, fifteen dollars. Address *Directors of Old South Studies, Old South Meeting House.*

* Double number, price ten cents.

Old South Meeting House,
Boston, 1893.

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 1.

De Vaca's Journey to New Mexico

1535–36.

FROM CABEZA DE VACA'S RELATION.

We told these people that we desired to go where the sun sets; and they said inhabitants in that direction were remote. We commanded them to send and make known our coming; but they strove to excuse themselves the best they could, the people being their enemies, and they did not wish to go to them. Not daring to disobey, however, they sent two women, one of their own, the other a captive from that people; for the women can negotiate even though there be war. We followed them, and stopped at a place where we agreed to wait. They tarried five days; and the Indians said they could not have found anybody.

We told them to conduct us towards the north; and they answered, as before, that except afar off there were no people in that direction, and nothing to eat, nor could water be found. Notwithstanding all this, we persisted, and said we desired to go in that course. They still tried to excuse themselves in the best manner possible. At this we became offended, and one night I went out to sleep in the woods apart from them; but directly they came to where I was, and remained all night without sleep, talking to me in great fear, telling me how terrified they were, beseeching us to be no longer angry, and said that they would lead us in the direction it was our wish to go, though they knew they should die on the way.

Whilst we still feigned to be displeased lest their fright should leave them, a remarkable circumstance happened, which was that on the same day many of the Indians became ill, and the next day eight men died. Abroad in the country, wheresoever this became known, there was such dread that

it seemed as if the inhabitants would die of fear at sight of us. They besought us not to remain angered, nor require that more of them should die. They believed we caused their death by only willing it, when in truth it gave us so much pain that it could not be greater; for, beyond their loss, we feared they might all die, or abandon us of fright, and that other people thenceforward would do the same, seeing what had come to these. We prayed to God, our Lord, to relieve them; and from that time the sick began to get better.

We witnessed one thing with great admiration, that the parents, brothers, and wives of those who died had great sympathy for them in their suffering; but, when dead, they showed no feeling, neither did they weep nor speak among themselves, make any signs, nor dare approach the bodies until we commanded these to be taken to burial.

While we were among these people, which was more than fifteen days, we saw no one speak to another, nor did we see an infant smile: the only one that cried they took off to a distance, and with the sharp teeth of a rat they scratched it from the shoulders down nearly to the end of the legs. Seeing this cruelty, and offended at it, I asked why they did so: they said for chastisement, because the child had wept in my presence. These terrors they imparted to all those who had lately come to know us, that they might give us whatever they had; for they knew we kept nothing, and would relinquish all to them. This people were the most obedient we had found in all the land, the best conditioned, and, in general, comely.

The sick having recovered, and three days having passed since we came to the place, the women whom we sent away returned, and said they had found very few people: nearly all had gone for cattle, being then in the season. We ordered the convalescent to remain and the well to go with us, and that at the end of two days' journey those women should go with two of our number to fetch up the people, and bring them on the road to receive us. Consequently, the next morning the most robust started with us.

At the end of three days' travel we stopped, and the next day Alonzo del Castillo set out with Estevanico the negro, taking the two women as guides. She that was the captive led them to the river which ran between some ridges, where was a town at which her father lived; and these habitations were the first seen, having the appearance and structure of houses.

Here Castillo and Estevanico arrived, and, after talking with the Indians, Castillo returned at the end of three days to the

spot where he had left us, and brought five or six of the people. He told us he had found fixed dwellings of civilization, that the inhabitants lived on beans and pumpkins, and that he had seen maize. This news the most of anything delighted us, and for it we gave infinite thanks to our Lord. Castillo told us the negro was coming with all the population to wait for us in the road not far off. Accordingly we left, and, having travelled a league and a half, we met the negro and the people coming to receive us. They gave us beans, many pumpkins, calabashes, blankets of cowhide and other things. As this people and those who came with us were enemies, and spoke not each other's language, we discharged the latter, giving them what we received, and we departed with the others. Six leagues from there, as the night set in we arrived at the houses, where great festivities were made over us. We remained one day, and the next set out with these Indians. They took us to the settled habitations of others, who lived upon the same food.

From that place onward was another usage. Those who knew of our approach did not come out to receive us on the road as the others had done, but we found them in their houses, and they had made others for our reception. They were all seated with their faces turned to the wall, their heads down, the hair brought before their eyes, and their property placed in a heap in the middle of the house. From this place they began to give us many blankets of skin; and they had nothing they did not bestow. They have the finest persons of any people we saw, of the greatest activity and strength, who best understood us and intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them the Cow nation, because most of the cattle killed are slaughtered in their neighborhood, and along up that river for over fifty leagues they destroy great numbers.

They go entirely naked after the manner of the first we saw. The women are dressed with deer skin, and some few men, mostly the aged, who are incapable of fighting. The country is very populous. We asked how it was they did not plant maize. They answered it was that they might not lose what they should put in the ground; that the rains had failed for two years in succession, and the seasons were so dry the seed had everywhere been taken by the moles, and they could not venture to plant again until after water had fallen copiously. They begged us to tell the sky to rain, and to pray for it, and we said we would do so. We also desired to know whence they got the maize, and they told us from where the sun goes down; there it grew throughout the region, and the nearest was by that path.

Since they did not wish to go thither, we asked by what direction we might best proceed, and bade them inform us concerning the way; they said the path was along up by that river towards the north, for otherwise in a journey of seventeen days we should find nothing to eat, except a fruit they call chacan, that is ground between stones, and even then it could with difficulty be eaten for its dryness and pungency,— which was true. They showed it to us there, and we could not eat it. They informed us also that, whilst we travelled by the river upward, we should all the way pass through a people that were their enemies, who spoke their tongue, and, though they had nothing to give us to eat, they would receive us with the best good will, and present us with mantles of cotton, hides, and other articles of their wealth. Still it appeared to them we ought by no means to take that course.

Doubting what it would be best to do, and which way we should choose for suitableness and support, we remained two days with these Indians, who gave us beans and pumpkins for our subsistence. Their method of cooking is so new that for its strangeness I desire to speak of it; thus it may be seen and remarked how curious and diversified are the contrivances and ingenuity of the human family. Not having discovered the use of pipkins, to boil what they would eat, they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash until the water in it boils from the fervor of the stones. Then whatever is to be cooked is put in, and until it is done they continue taking out cooled stones and throwing in hot ones. Thus they boil their food.

OF OUR TAKING THE WAY TO THE MAIZE.

Two days being spent while we tarried, we resolved to go in search of the maize. We did not wish to follow the path leading to where the cattle are, because it is towards the north, and for us very circuitous, since we ever held it certain that going towards the sunset we must find what we desired.

Thus we took our way, and traversed all the country until coming out at the South sea. Nor was the dread we had of the sharp hunger through which we should have to pass (as in verity we did, throughout the seventeen days' journey of which the natives spoke) sufficient to hinder us. During all that time, in ascending by the river, they gave us many coverings of cow-

hide; but we did not eat of the fruit. Our sustenance each day was about a handful of deer-suet, which we had a long time been used to saving for such trials. Thus we passed the entire journey of seventeen days, and at the close we crossed the river and travelled other seventeen days.

As the sun went down, upon some plains that lie between chains of very great mountains, we found a people who for the third part of the year eat nothing but the powder of straw, and, that being the season when we passed, we also had to eat of it, until reaching permanent habitations, where was abundance of maize brought together. They gave us a large quantity in grain and flour, pumpkins, beans, and shawls of cotton. With all these we loaded our guides, who went back the happiest creatures on earth. We gave thanks to God, our Lord, for having brought us where we had found so much food.

Some houses are of earth, the rest all of cane mats. From this point we marched through more than a hundred leagues of country, and continually found settled domicils, with plenty of maize and beans. The people gave us many deer and cotton shawls better than those of New Spain, many beads and certain corals found on the South sea, and fine turquoises that come from the North. Indeed they gave us every thing they had. To me they gave five emeralds made into arrow-heads, which they use at their singing and dancing. They appeared to be very precious. I asked whence they got these; and they said the stones were brought from some lofty mountains that stand towards the north, where were populous towns and very large houses, and that they were purchased with plumes and the feathers of parrots.

Among this people the women are treated with more decorum than in any part of the Indias we had visited. They wear a shirt of cotton that falls as low as the knee, and over it half sleeves with skirts reaching to the ground, made of dressed deer skin. It opens in front and is brought close with straps of leather. They soap this with a certain root that cleanses well, by which they are enabled to keep it becomingly. Shoes are worn. The people all came to us that we should touch and bless them, they being very urgent, which we could accomplish only with great labor, for sick and well all wished to go with a benediction.

These Indians ever accompanied us until they delivered us to others; and all held full faith in our coming from heaven. While travelling, we went without food all day until night, and we ate so little as to astonish them. We never felt exhaustion,

neither were we in fact at all weary, so inured were we to hardship. We possessed great influence and authority: to preserve both, we seldom talked with them. The negro was in constant conversation; he informed himself about the ways we wished to take, of the towns there were, and the matters we desired to know.

We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the people who spoke them, for they always understood us, and we them. We questioned them, and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language and we theirs; for, although we knew six languages, we could not everywhere avail ourselves of them, there being a thousand differences.

Throughout all these countries the people who were at war immediately made friends, that they might come to meet us, and bring what they possessed. In this way we left all the land at peace, and we taught all the inhabitants by signs, which they understood, that in heaven was a Man we called God, who had created the sky and the earth; him we worshipped and had for our master; that we did what he commanded and from his hand came all good; and would they do as we did, all would be well with them. So ready of apprehension we found them that, could we have had the use of language by which to make ourselves perfectly understood, we should have left them all Christians. Thus much we gave them to understand the best we could. And afterward, when the sun rose, they opened their hands together with loud shouting towards the heavens, and then drew them down all over their bodies. They did the same again when the sun went down. They are a people of good condition and substance, capable in any pursuit.

THE INDIANS GIVE US THE HEARTS OF DEER.

In the town where the emeralds were presented to us the people gave Dorantes over six hundred open hearts of deer. They ever keep a good supply of them for food, and we called the place Pueblo de los Corazones. It is the entrance into many provinces on the South sea. They who go to look for them, and do not enter there, will be lost. On the coast is no maize: the inhabitants eat the powder of rush and of straw, and fish that is caught in the sea from rafts, not having canoes. With grass and straw the women cover their nudity. They are a timid and dejected people.

We think that near the coast by way of those towns through

which we came are more than a thousand leagues of inhabited country, plentiful of subsistence. Three times the year it is planted with maize and beans. Deer are of three kinds: one the size of the young steer of Spain. There are innumerable houses, such as are called bahíos. They have poison from a certain tree the size of the apple. For effect no more is necessary than to pluck the fruit and moisten the arrow with it, or, if there be no fruit, to break a twig and with the milk do the like. The tree is abundant and so deadly that, if the leaves be bruised and steeped in some neighboring water, the deer and other animals drinking it soon burst.

We were in this town three days. A day's journey farther was another town, at which the rain fell heavily while we were there, and the river became so swollen we could not cross it, which detained us fifteen days. In this time Castillo saw the buckle of a sword-belt on the neck of an Indian and stitched to it the nail of a horseshoe. He took them, and we asked the native what they were: he answered that they came from heaven. We questioned him further, as to who had brought them thence: they all responded that certain men who wore beards like us had come from heaven and arrived at that river, bringing horses, lances, and swords, and that they had lanced two Indians. In a manner of the utmost indifference we could feign, we asked them what had become of those men. They answered us that they had gone to sea, putting their lances beneath the water, and going themselves also under the water: afterwards that they were seen on the surface going towards the sunset. For this we gave many thanks to God our Lord. We had before despaired of ever hearing more of Christians. Even yet we were left in great doubt and anxiety, thinking those people were merely persons who had come by sea on discoveries. However, as we had now such exact information, we made greater speed, and, as we advanced on our way, the news of the Christians continually grew. We told the natives that we were going in search of that people, to order them not to kill nor make slaves of them, nor take them from their lands, nor do other injustice. Of this the Indians were very glad.

We passed through many territories and found them all vacant: their inhabitants wandered fleeing among the mountains, without daring to have houses or till the earth for fear of Christians. The sight was one of infinite pain to us, a land very fertile and beautiful, abounding in springs and streams, the hamlets deserted and burned, the people thin and weak, all fleeing or in concealment. As they did not plant, they appeased

their keen hunger by eating roots and the bark of trees. We bore a share in the famine along the whole way; for poorly could these unfortunates provide for us, themselves being so reduced they looked as though they would willingly die. They brought shawls of those they had concealed because of the Christians, presenting them to us; and they related how the Christians at other times had come through the land, destroying and burning the towns, carrying away half the men, and all the women and the boys, while those who had been able to escape were wandering about fugitives. We found them so alarmed they dared not remain anywhere. They would not nor could they till the earth, but preferred to die rather than live in dread of such cruel usage as they received. Although these showed themselves greatly delighted with us, we feared that on our arrival among those who held the frontier, and fought against the Christians, they would treat us badly, and revenge upon us the conduct of their enemies; but, when God our Lord was pleased to bring us there, they began to dread and respect us as the others had done, and even somewhat more, at which we no little wondered. Thence it may at once be seen that, to bring all these people to be Christians and to the obedience of the Imperial Majesty, they must be won by kindness, which is a way certain, and no other is.

They took us to a town on the edge of a range of mountains, to which the ascent is over difficult crags. We found many people there collected out of fear of the Christians. They received us well, and presented us all they had. They gave us more than two thousand back-loads of maize, which we gave to the distressed and hungered beings who guided us to that place. The next day we despatched four messengers through the country, as we were accustomed to do, that they should call together all the rest of the Indians at a town distant three days' march. We set out the day after with all the people. The tracks of the Christians and marks where they slept were continually seen. At mid-day we met our messengers, who told us they had found no Indians, that they were roving and hiding in the forests, fleeing that the Christians might not kill nor make them slaves; the night before they had observed the Christians from behind trees, and discovered what they were about, carrying away many people in chains.

Those who came with us were alarmed at this intelligence; some returned to spread the news over the land that the Christians were coming; and many more would have followed, had we not forbidden it and told them to cast aside their fear, when

they reassured themselves and were well content. At the time we had Indians with us belonging a hundred leagues behind, and we were in no condition to discharge them, that they might return to their homes. To encourage them, we stayed there that night; the day after we marched and slept on the road. The following day those whom we had sent forward as messengers guided us to the place where they had seen Christians. We arrived in the afternoon, and saw at once that they told the truth. We perceived that the persons were mounted, by the stakes to which the horses had been tied.

From this spot, called the river Petutan, to the river to which Diego de Guzmán came, where we heard of Christians, may be as many as eighty leagues; thence to the town where the rains overtook us, twelve leagues, and that is twelve leagues from the South sea. Throughout this region, wheresoever the mountains extend, we saw clear traces of gold and lead, iron, copper, and other metals. Where the settled habitations are, the climate is hot; even in January the weather is very warm. Thence toward the meridian, the country unoccupied to the North sea is unhappy and sterile. There we underwent great and incredible hunger. Those who inhabit and wander over it are a race of evil inclination and most cruel customs. The people of the fixed residences and those beyond regard silver and gold with indifference, nor can they conceive of any use for them.

WE SEE TRACES OF CHRISTIANS.

When we saw sure signs of Christians, and heard how near we were to them, we gave thanks to God our Lord for having chosen to bring us out of a captivity so melancholy and wretched. The delight we felt let each one conjecture, when he shall remember the length of time we were in that country, the suffering and perils we underwent. That night I entreated my companions that one of them should go back three days' journey after the Christians who were moving about over the country, where we had given assurance of protection. Neither of them received this proposal well, excusing themselves because of weariness and exhaustion; and although either might have done better than I, being more youthful and athletic, yet seeing their unwillingness, the next morning I took the negro with eleven Indians, and, following the Christians by their trail, I travelled ten leagues, passing three villages, at which they had slept.

The day after I overtook four of them on horseback, who

were astonished at the sight of me, so strangely habited as I was, and in company with Indians. They stood staring at me a length of time, so confounded that they neither hailed me nor drew near to make an inquiry. I bade them take me to their chief: accordingly we went together half a league to the place where was Diego de Alcaraz, their captain.

After we had conversed, he stated to me that he was completely undone: he had not been able in a long time to take any Indians; he knew not which way to turn, and his men had well begun to experience hunger and fatigue. I told him of Castillo and Dorantes, who were behind, ten leagues off, with a multitude that conducted us. He thereupon sent three cavalry to them, with fifty of the Indians who accompanied him. The negro returned to guide them, while I remained. I asked the Christians to give me a certificate of the year, month, and day I arrived there, and of the manner of my coming, which they accordingly did. From this river to the town of the Christians, named San Miguel, within the government of the province called New Galicia, are thirty leagues.

OF SENDING FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

Five days having elapsed, Andrés Dorantes and Alonzo del Castillo arrived with those who had been sent after them. They brought more than six hundred persons of that community, whom the Christians had driven into the forests, and who had wandered in concealment over the land. Those who accompanied us so far had drawn them out, and given them to the Christians, who thereupon dismissed all the others they had brought with them. Upon their coming to where I was, Alcaraz begged that we would summon the people of the towns on the margin of the river, who straggled about under cover of the woods, and order them to fetch us something to eat. This last was unnecessary, the Indians being ever diligent to bring us all they could. Directly we sent our messengers to call them, when there came six hundred souls, bringing us all the maize in their possession. They fetched it in certain pots, closed with clay, which they had concealed in the earth. They brought us whatever else they had; but we, wishing only to have the provision, gave the rest to the Christians, that they might divide among themselves. After this we had many high words with them; for they wished to make slaves of the Indians we brought.

In consequence of the dispute, we left at our departure many bows of Turkish shape we had along with us and many pouches.

The five arrows with the points of emerald were forgotten among others, and we lost them. We gave the Christians a store of robes of cowhide and other things we brought. We found it difficult to induce the Indians to return to their dwellings, to feel no apprehension and plant maize. They were willing to do nothing until they had gone with us and delivered us into the hands of other Indians, as had been the custom; for, if they returned without doing so, they were afraid they should die, and, going with us, they feared neither Christians nor lances. Our countrymen became jealous at this, and caused their interpreter to tell the Indians that we were of them, and for a long time we had been lost; that they were the lords of the land who must be obeyed and served, while we were persons of mean condition and small force. The Indians cared little or nothing for what was told them: and conversing among themselves said the Christians lied; that we had come whence the sun rises, and they whence it goes down; we healed the sick, they killed the sound; that we had come naked and barefooted, while they had arrived in clothing and on horses with lances; that we were not covetous of anything, but all that was given to us we directly turned to give, remaining with nothing; that the others had the only purpose to rob whomsoever they found, bestowing nothing on any one.

In this way they spoke of all matters respecting us, which they enhanced by contrast with matters concerning the others, delivering their response through the interpreter of the Spaniards. To other Indians they made this known by means of one among them through whom they understood us. Those who speak that tongue we discriminately call Primahaitu, which is like saying Vasconyados. We found it in use over more than four hundred leagues of our travel, without another over that whole extent. Even to the last, I could not convince the Indians that we were of the Christians; and only with great effort and solicitation we got them to go back to their residences. We ordered them to put away apprehension, establish their towns, plant and cultivate the soil.

From abandonment the country had already grown up thickly in trees. It is, no doubt, the best in all these Indias, the most prolific and plenteous in provisions. Three times in the year it is planted. It produces great variety of fruit, has beautiful rivers, with many other good waters. There are ores with clear traces of gold and silver. The people are well disposed: they serve such Christians as are their friends, with great good will. They are comely, much more so than the Mexicans. Indeed, the land needs no circumstance to make it blessed.

The Indians, at taking their leave, told us they would do what we commanded, and would build their towns, if the Christians would suffer them; and this I say and affirm most positively, that, if they have not done so, it is the fault of the Christians.

After we had dismissed the Indians in peace, and thanked them for the toil they had supported with us, the Christians with subtlety sent us on our way under charge of Zeburos, an Alcalde, attended by two men. They took us through forests and solitudes, to hinder us from intercourse with the natives, that we might neither witness nor have knowledge of the act they would commit. It is but an instance of how frequently men are mistaken in their aims; we set about to preserve the liberty of the Indians and thought we had secured it, but the contrary appeared; for the Christians had arranged to go and spring upon those we had sent away in peace and confidence. They executed their plan as they had designed, taking us through the woods, wherein for two days we were lost, without water and without way. Seven of our men died of thirst, and we all thought to have perished. Many friendly to the Christians in their company were unable to reach the place where we got water the second night, until the noon of next day. We travelled twenty-five leagues, little more or less, and reached a town of friendly Indians. The Alcalde left us there, and went on three leagues farther to a town called Culiaçan where was Melchior Diaz, principal Alcalde and Captain of the Province.

THE CHIEF ALCALDE RECEIVES US KINDLY THE NIGHT WE ARRIVE.

The Alcalde Mayor knew of the expedition, and, hearing of our return, he immediately left that night and came to where we were. He wept with us, giving praises to God our Lord for having extended over us so great care. He comforted and entertained us hospitably. In behalf of the Governor, Nuño de Guzmán and himself, he tendered all that he had, and the service in his power. He showed much regret for the seizure, and the injustice we had received from Alcaraz and others. We were sure, had he been present, what was done to the Indians and to us would never have occurred.

The night being passed, we set out the next day for Anhacan. The chief Alcalde besought us to tarry there, since by so doing we could be of eminent service to God and your Majesty; the deserted land was without tillage and everywhere badly wasted, the Indians were fleeing and concealing themselves in the

thickets, unwilling to occupy their towns; we were to send and call them, commanding them in behalf of God and the King, to return to live in the vales and cultivate the soil.

To us this appeared difficult to effect. We had brought no native of our own, nor of those who accompanied us according to custom, intelligent in these affairs. At last we made the attempt with two captives, brought from that country, who were with the Christians we first overtook. They had seen the people who conducted us, and learned from them the great authority and command we carried and exercised throughout those parts, the wonders we had worked, the sick we had cured, and the many things besides we had done. We ordered that they, with others of the town, should go together to summon the hostile natives among the mountains and of the river Petachan, where we had found the Christians, and say to them they must come to us, that we wished to speak with them. For the protection of the messengers, and as a token to the others of our will, we gave them a gourd of those we were accustomed to bear in our hands, which had been our principal insignia and evidence of rank, and with this they went away.

The Indians were gone seven days, and returned with three chiefs of those revolted among the ridges, who brought with them fifteen men, and presented us beads, turquoises, and feathers. The messengers said they had not found the people of the river where we appeared, the Christians having again made them run away into the mountains. Melchior Diaz told the interpreter to speak to the natives for us; to say to them we came in the name of God, who is in heaven; that we had travelled about the world many years, telling all the people we found that they should believe in God and serve him; for he was the master of all things on the earth, benefiting and rewarding the virtuous, and to the bad giving perpetual punishment of fire; that, when the good die, he takes them to heaven, where none ever die, nor feel cold, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor any inconvenience whatsoever, but the greatest enjoyment possible to conceive; that those who will not believe in him, nor obey his commands, he casts beneath the earth into the company of demons, and into a great fire which is never to go out, but always torment; that, over this, if they desired to be Christians and serve God in the way we required, the Christians would cherish them as brothers and behave towards them very kindly; that we would command they give no offence nor take them from their territories, but be their great friends. If the Indians did not do this, the Christians would treat them very hardly, carrying them away as slaves into other lands.

They answered through the interpreter that they would be true Christians and serve God. Being asked to whom they sacrifice and offer worship, from whom they ask rain for their corn-fields and health for themselves, they answered of a man that is in heaven. We inquired of them his name, and they told us Aguar; and they believed he created the whole world, and the things in it. We returned to question them as to how they knew this; they answered their fathers and grandfathers had told them, that from distant time had come their knowledge, and they knew the rain and all good things were sent to them by him. We told them that the name of him of whom they spoke we called Dios; and if they would call him so, and would worship him as we directed, they would find their welfare. They responded that they well understood, and would do as we said. We ordered them to come down from the mountains in confidence and peace, inhabit the whole country and construct their houses: among these they should build one for God, at its entrance place a cross like that which we had there present; and, when Christians came among them, they should go out to receive them with crosses in their hands, without bows or any arms, and take them to their dwellings, giving of what they have to eat, and the Christians would do them no injury, but be their friends; and the Indians told us they would do as we had commanded.

The Captain having given them shawls and entertained them, they returned, taking the two captives who had been used as emissaries. This occurrence took place before the Notary, in the presence of many witnesses.

OF BUILDING CHURCHES IN THAT LAND.

As soon as these Indians went back, all those of that province who were friendly to the Christians, and had heard of us, came to visit us, bringing beads and feathers. We commanded them to build churches and put crosses in them: to that time none had been raised; and we made them bring their principal men to be baptized.

Then the Captain made a covenant with God, not to invade nor consent to invasion, nor to enslave any of that country and people, to whom we had guaranteed safety; that this he would enforce and defend until your Majesty and the Governor Nuño de Guzmán, or the Viceroy in your name, should direct what would be most for the service of God and your Highness.

When the children had been baptized, we departed for the

town of San Miguel. So soon as we arrived, April 1, 1536, came Indians, who told us many people had come down from the mountains and were living in the vales; that they had made churches and crosses, doing all we had required. Each day we heard how these things were advancing to a full improvement.

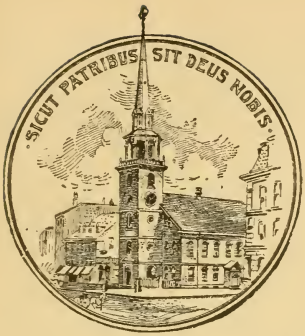
Fifteen days of our residence having passed, Alcaraz got back with the Christians from the incursion, and they related to the Captain the manner in which the Indians had come down and peopled the plain; that the towns were inhabited which had been tenantless and deserted, the residents, coming out to receive them with crosses in their hands, had taken them to their houses, giving of what they had, and the Christians had slept among them over night. They were surprised at a thing so novel; but, as the natives said they had been assured of safety, it was ordered that they should not be harmed, and the Christians took friendly leave of them.

Among all the thrilling adventures of the early Spanish explorers of America, none was more remarkable than the journey of Cabeza de Vaca, in 1535–36, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, through the present states of Texas and New Mexico, to the province of Culiacan in Mexico.

The success of Cortes in Mexico fired the minds of many Spanish adventurers; and among those affected by visions of empires farther north was Panfilo de Narvaez, who had been defeated by Cortes, whom he was sent to supersede. Charles V. gave him a patent covering the country on the Gulf of Mexico from Rio de Palmas to Florida. Sailing from Spain in 1527, he reached the Florida coast, at the present Apalache Bay, after severe losses, with four vessels and four hundred men, in April, 1528. With three hundred men, Narvaez struck inland, ordering the vessels to follow the coast westward. After great sufferings during three months, Narvaez and his men returned to the coast, but found no signs of the vessels. Two months were spent in building five boats, in which the survivors embarked and coasted along westward, landing occasionally for food and water, but finding the natives fierce. On the 31st of October they came to "a broad river, pouring into the Gulf such a volume of water that it freshened the brine so that they were able to drink it." But the current was too much for their small boats. Narvaez and many others were lost. Three boats were thrown on the coast of western Louisiana or eastern Texas. Many of the men fell victims to the savages or to disease and starvation. Some were enslaved by the Indians. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the treasurer of the expedition, was held six years among the Mariames, finally escaping with two companions, Castillo and Dorantes, and a negro slave, Estevan. After spending eight months with a tribe further inland, they pushed on, northward and westward, surmounting incredible hardships, finally coming upon some Spanish explorers on the river Petatlan, and on the 1st of April, 1536, reaching the town of San Miguel in Sinaloa, in the north-western part of Mexico.

Returning to Spain, De Vaca published a *Relacion* of his travels and adventures, at Zamora, in 1542; and this was several times reprinted in Spain. An Italian translation was included by Ramusio in his *Collection* in 1559. There was an early English paraphrase by Purchas; but the first critical and complete English rendering was that by Mr. Buckingham Smith in 1851. A revised edition, with valuable notes, was published in 1871; and from this the present leaflet is made up, taken from chapters xxx.–xxxvi. of the *Relation*.

De Vaca and his companions were the first Europeans to tread the soil of New Mexico. Their accounts of having fallen in with civilized peoples and "populous towns with very large houses," confirming, as they seemed to, the information brought to Guzman six years before by the Indian from the north, were largely the incentives to the expeditions of Coronado and the other Spaniards, who scoured Arizona and New Mexico in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola. Estevan, the Barbary negro, who had come with De Vaca on his long wanderings, accompanied the first expedition set on foot by Mendoza in 1539, under Fray Marcos. See Coronado's Letter to Mendoza and the accompanying notes, Old South Leaflet, No. 20. See the chapter on Ancient Florida, by John G. Shea, and the bibliographical notes to the same, in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii., and the chapter on the Early Explorations of New Mexico, by Henry W. Haynes, in the same volume. "Notwithstanding the vivid interest that will always attach to De Vaca's thrilling story of adventure and suffering," says Mr. Haynes, "the indications given in it of the routes by which he journeyed, and of the places and peoples he visited, are practically of far too vague a character to enable them to be satisfactorily identified, even if we feel warranted in placing implicit confidence in the author's veracity." H. H. Bancroft, in his volume on the North Mexican States,— vol. x. of his *History of the Pacific States*,— gives a map (p. 67) of De Vaca's route as he conceives it. There is much in this volume, as well as in vol. xii. of the same work, on Arizona and New Mexico, which should be referred to by the student of the Spanish occupation of the South-west. In Prince's valuable *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* there is a chapter on De Vaca, with (p. 89) a careful attempt to trace his route. Davis's *Conquest of New Mexico* tells the story of all the early explorers, including De Vaca, based on the original documents, of which he gives a useful list in his preface. Frank W. Blackmar's *Spanish Institutions of the South-west* is one of the valuable Johns Hopkins publications. Chapter x., on the Spanish Occupation of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, is especially worthy of attention in this connection. Bandelier, in this latest time, has given most critical attention to the Spanish writings upon the exploration of the South-west; and his various contributions to the Papers of the Archæological Institute of America, as well as to the *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology*, will be consulted by the careful student. There is a *Story of New Mexico* for young people, by H. O. Ladd, in the "Story of the States" series; and Henry Kingsley devotes a chapter to De Vaca in his *Tales of Old Travel*.



Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 2.

Description of Ohio.

By Manasseh Cutler.

An Explanation of the Map which Delineates that Part of the Federal Lands Comprehended between Pennsylvania West Line, the Rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie; Confirmed to the United States by Sundry Tribes of Indians, in the Treaties of 1784 and 1786, and Now Ready for Settlement. Salem: Printed by Dabney and Cushing, MDCCLXXXVII.

New York, October 28, 1787.

Having attentively perused the following pamphlet, describing part of the western territory of the United States, I do certify, that the facts therein related, respecting the fertility of the soil, productions, and general advantages of settlement, etc., are judicious, just, and true, and correspond with observations made by me during my residence of upward of ten years in that country.

Thomas Hutchins,

Geographer of the United States.

An Explanation, etc.

The great river Ohio is formed by the confluence of Monongahela and the Alleghany, in the State of Pennsylvania, about 290 miles west of the city of Philadelphia, and about 20 miles east of the western line of that State. In the common traveling road, the former distance is computed at 320 miles; and, by the windings and oblique direction of the Ohio, the latter is reckoned about 42. These two sources of the Ohio are large, navigable streams; the former, flowing from the south-east, leaves but 30 miles portage from the navigable waters of the Potomac, in Virginia; the latter opens a passage from the north-east, and rises not far from the head-waters of the Sus-

quehanna. The State of Pennsylvania has already adopted the plan of opening a navigation from the Alleghany River to the city of Philadelphia, through the Susquehanna and the Delaware. In this route there will be a portage of only 24 miles.

On the junction of these rivers, or at the head of the Ohio, stands Fort Pitt, which gives name to the town of Pittsburgh, a flourishing settlement in the vicinity of the fortress. From this place, the Ohio takes a south-western course of 1,188 miles, including its various windings, and discharges itself into the Mississippi, having passed a prodigious length of delightful and fertile country, and received the tribute of a large number of navigable streams. The Muskingum, the Hockhocking, the Scioto, the Miami, and the Wabash from the north-west, the Kenhawa, the Kentucky, the Buffaloe, the Shawanee, and the Cherokee from the south-east, all navigable from 100 to 900 miles, discharge themselves into the Ohio; and yet the Ohio itself forms but an inconsiderable part of that vast variety of congregated streams which visit the ocean through the channel of the Mississippi.

The Ohio, from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi, divides the State of Virginia from the Federal lands, or the lands which do not fall within the limits of any particular State. These extend westward to the Mississippi and northward to the boundary of the United States, excepting only the Connecticut reserve, which is a narrow strip of land, bordering on the south of Lake Erie, and stretching 120 miles west of the western limit of Pennsylvania. But a small proportion of these lands is as yet purchased of the natives, and to be disposed of by Congress. Beginning on the meridian line, which forms the western boundary of Pennsylvania, they have surveyed and laid off seven ranges of townships. As a north and south line strikes the Ohio in a very oblique direction, the termination of the seventh range falls upon that river 9 miles above the Muskingum, which is the first large river that falls into the Ohio. It forms this junction at 172 miles below Fort Pitt, including the windings of the Ohio, though in a direct line it is but 90 miles. The lands in which the Indian title is extinguished, and which are now purchasing under the United States, are bounded as before described on the east, by the Great Miami on the west, by the Ohio on the south, and extend near to the head-waters of the Muskingum and Scioto on the north. The Muskingum is a gentle river, confined by banks so high as to prevent its overflowing. It is

250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable by large batteaux and barges to the Three Legs; and, by small ones, to the lake at its head. From thence, by a portage of about one mile, a communication is opened to Lake Erie, through the Cayahoga, which is a stream of great utility, navigable the whole length, without any obstruction from falls. From Lake Erie, the avenue is well known to the Hudson, in the State of New York. The most considerable portage in this route is at the fall of Niagara, which interrupts the communication between the Lakes Erie and Ontario. From the latter, you pass through the river Oswego, the Oneyda Lake, Wood's Creek, and find a short portage into the Mohawk, and another, occasioned by a fall near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, at Albany.

The Hockhocking resembles the Muskingum, though somewhat inferior in size. It is navigable for large boats about 70 miles, and for small ones much farther. On the banks of this very useful stream are found inexhaustible quarries of freestone, large beds of iron ore, and some rich mines of lead. Coal mines and salt springs are frequent in the neighborhood of this stream, as they are in every part of the western territory. The salt that may be obtained from these springs will afford an inexhaustible store of that necessary article. Beds of white and blue clay, of an excellent quality, are likewise found here, suitable for the manufacture of glass, crockery, and other earthenwares. Red bole and many other useful fossils have been observed on the branches of this river.

The Scioto is a larger river than either of the preceding, and opens a more extensive navigation. It is passable for large barges for 200 miles, with a portage of only 4 miles to the Sandusky, a good, navigable stream, that falls into the Lake Erie. Through the Sandusky and Scioto lies the most common pass from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi, one of the most extensive and useful communications that are to be found in any country.

Prodigious extensions of territory are here connected; and, from the rapidity with which the western parts of Canada, Lake Erie, and the Kentucky countries are settling, we may anticipate an immense intercourse between them. The lands on the borders of these middle streams, from this circumstance alone, aside from their natural fertility, must be rendered vastly valuable. There is no doubt but flour, corn, flax, hemp, etc., raised for exportation in that great country between the Lakes Huron and Ontario, will find an easier outlet through

Lake Erie and these rivers than in any other direction. The Ohio merchant can give a higher price than those of Quebec for these commodities, as they may be transported from the former to Florida and the West India Islands with less expense, risk, and insurance than the latter; while the expense from the place of growth to the Ohio will not be one-fourth of what it would be to Quebec, and much less than even to the Oneyda Lake. The stream of Scioto is gentle, nowhere broken by falls. At some places, in the spring of the year, it overflows its banks, providing for large natural rice plantations. Salt springs, coal mines, white and blue clay and freestone, abound in the country adjoining this river. The undistinguishing terms of admiration, that are commonly used in speaking of the natural fertility of the country on the western waters of the United States, would render it difficult, without accurate attention in the surveys, to ascribe a preference to any particular part, or to give a just description of the territory under consideration, without the hazard of being suspected of exaggeration. But in this we have the united opinion of the Geographer, the Surveyors, and every traveler that has been intimately acquainted with the country, and marked every natural object with the most scrupulous exactness,— that no part of the federal territory unites so many advantages, in point of health, fertility, variety of production, and foreign intercourse, as that tract which stretches from the Muskingum to the Scioto and the Great Miami Rivers.

Colonel Gordon, in his journal, speaking of a much larger range of country, in which this is included and makes unquestionably the finest part, has the following observation: "The country on the Ohio is everywhere pleasant, with large level spots of rich land, and remarkably healthy. One general remark of this nature will serve for the whole tract of the globe comprehended between the western skirts of the Alleghany mountains; thence running south-westerly to the distance of 500 miles to the Ohio falls; then crossing them northerly to the heads of the rivers that empty themselves into the Ohio; then east along the ridge that separates the lakes and Ohio's streams to French creek. This country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, the most commodious and most fertile spot on earth, known to the European people."

The lands that feed the various streams above mentioned, which fall into the Ohio, are now more accurately known, and may be described with confidence and precision. They are

interspersed with all the variety of soil which conduces to pleasantness of situation, and lays the foundation for the wealth of an agricultural and manufacturing people. Large level bottoms, or natural meadows, from 20 to 50 miles in circuit, are every-where found bordering the rivers and variegating the country in the interior parts. These afford as rich a soil as can be imagined, and may be reduced to proper cultivation with very little labor. It is said that in many of these bottoms a man may clear an acre a day, fit for planting with Indian corn; there being no under-wood, and the trees growing high and large, but not thick together, need nothing but girdling. The prevailing growth of timber and the more useful trees are maple or sugar-tree, sycamore, black and white mulberry, black and white walnut, butternut, chestnut, white, black, Spanish, and chestnut oaks, hickory, cherry, buckwood, honey locust, elm, horse chestnut, cucumber tree, lynn tree, gum tree, iron wood, ash, aspin, sassafras, crab-apple tree, pawpaw or custard apple, a variety of plum trees, wine-bark spice, and leather-wood bushes. General Parsons measured a black-walnut tree, near the Muskingum, whose circumference, at 5 feet from the ground, was 22 feet. A sycamore, near the same place, measured 44 feet in circumference, at some distance from the ground. White and black oak, and chestnut, with most of the above-mentioned timbers, grow large and plenty upon the high grounds. Both the high and low lands produce vast quantities of natural grapes of various kinds, of which the settlers universally may make a sufficiency for their own consumption of rich red wine. It is asserted in the old settlement of St. Vincent's, where they have had opportunity to try it, that age will render this wine preferable to most of the European wines. Cotton is the natural production of this country, and grows in great perfection.

The sugar maple is a most valuable tree for an inland country. Any number of inhabitants may be forever supplied with a sufficiency of sugar by preserving a few trees for the use of each family. A tree will yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labor is very trifling. The sap is extracted in the months of February and March, and granulated, by the simple operation of boiling, to a sugar equal in flavor and whiteness to the best Muscovado.

Springs of excellent water abound in every part of this territory; and small and large streams, for mills and other purposes, are actually interspersed, as if by art, that there be no deficiency in any of the conveniences of life.

Very little waste land is to be found in any part of the tract of country comprehended in the map which accompanies this. There are no swamps, and, though the hills are frequent, they are gentle and swelling, nowhere high nor incapable of tillage, They are of a deep, rich soil, covered with a heavy growth of timber, and well adapted to the production of wheat, rye, indigo, tobacco, etc.

The communications between this country and the sea will be principally in the four following directions:

1. The route through the Scioto and Muskingum to Lake Erie, and so to the river Hudson, which has been already described.

2. The passage up the Ohio and Monongahela to the portage above mentioned, which leads to the navigable waters of the Potomac. This portage is 30 miles, and will probably be rendered much less by the execution of the plans now on foot for opening the navigation of those waters.

3. The great Kenhawa, which falls into the Ohio from the Virginia shore between the Hockhocking and thè Scioto, opens an extensive navigation from the south-east, and leaves but 18 miles portage from the navigable waters of James River, in Virginia. This communication, for the country between Muskingum and Scioto, will probably be more used than any other for the exportation of manufactures and other light, valuable articles, and especially for the importation of foreign commodities, which may be brought from the Chesapeake to the Ohio much cheaper than they are now carried from Philadelphia to Carlisle and the other thick-settled back counties of Pennsylvania.

4. But the current down the Ohio and the Mississippi, for heavy articles that suit the Florida and West India markets, such as corn, flour, beef, lumber, etc., will be more frequently loaded than any streams on earth. The distance from the Scioto to the Mississippi is 800 miles; from thence to the sea it is 900. This whole course is easily run in 15 days, and the passage up those rivers is not so difficult as has usually been represented. It is found by late experiments that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio, and it is worthy of observation that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to do infinite service in all our extensive river navigation.

Such is the state of facts relative to the natural advantages of the territory described in the annexed map. As far as observations in passing the rivers and the transitory remarks of

travelers will justify an opinion, the lands further down, and in other parts of the unappropriated country, are not equal, in point of soil and other local advantages, to the tract which is here described. This, however, can not be accurately determined, as the present situation of these countries will not admit of that minute inspection which has been bestowed on the one under consideration.

It is a happy circumstance that the Ohio Company are about to commence the settlement of this country in so regular and judicious a manner. It will serve as a wise model for the future settlement of all the federal lands; at the same time that, by beginning so near the western limit of Pennsylvania, it will be a continuation of the old settlements, leaving no vacant lands exposed to be seized by such lawless banditti as usually infest the frontiers of countries distant from the seat of government.

The design of Congress and of the settlers is that the settlements shall proceed regularly down the Ohio and northward to Lake Erie. And it is probable that not many years will elapse before the whole country above Miami will be brought to that degree of cultivation which will exhibit all its latent beauties, and justify those descriptions of travelers which have so often made it the garden of the world, the seat of wealth, and the center of a great empire.

To the philosopher and the politician, on viewing this delightful part of the federal territory, under the prospect of an immediate and systematic settlement, the following observations will naturally occur.

First. The toils of agriculture will here be rewarded with a greater variety of valuable productions than in any part of America. The advantages of almost every climate are here blended together; every considerable commodity, that is cultivated in any part of the United States, is here produced in the greatest plenty and perfection. The high dry lands are of a deep, rich soil, producing in abundance wheat, rye, Indian corn, buckwheat, oats, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, indigo, silk, wine, and cotton. The tobacco is of a quality superior to that of Virginia; and the crops of wheat are larger than in any other part of America. The common growth of Indian corn is from 60 to 80 bushels to the acre. The low lands are well suited to the production of nearly all the above articles, except wheat.

Where the large bottoms are interspersed with small streams, they are well adapted to the growth of rice, which may be pro-

duced in any quantities. The borders of the large streams do not generally admit of this crop, as very few of them overflow their banks. But the scarcity of natural rice swamps is amply compensated by the remarkable healthfulness of the whole country, it being entirely free from stagnant waters. It is found, in this country, that stagnant waters are by no means necessary to the growth of the rice; the common rich bottoms produce this crop in as great perfection as the best rice swamps of the Southern States. Hops are the natural production of this country, as are peaches, plums, pears, apples, melons, and almost every fruit of the temperate zone.

No country is better stocked with wild game of every kind. Innumerable herds of deer, elk, buffaloe, and bear, are sheltered in the groves, and fed in the extensive bottoms that every-where abound — an unquestionable proof of the great fertility of the soil. Turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, teal, pheasants, partridges, etc., are, from observation, believed to be in greater plenty here than the tame poultry are in any part of the old settlements of America.

The rivers are well stored with fish of various kinds, and many of them of an excellent quality. They are generally large, though of different sizes. The cat-fish, which is the largest, and of a delicious flavor, weighs from 30 to 80 pounds. Provisions will, for many years, find a ready market on any of these rivers; as settlers are constantly coming in from all parts of the world, and must be supplied by purchase, for one year at least, with many articles.

Second. From its situation and productions, no country is so well calculated for the establishment of manufactures of various kinds. Provisions will be forever plenty and cheap. The raw materials for fabricating most of the articles of clothing and dress are and will be the luxuriant production of this country. Though silk, cotton, and flax are valuable in themselves, yet, by being wrought into the various articles of use and ornament, the expense of transportation is proportionably lessened. The United States, and perhaps other countries, will be supplied from these interior parts of America.

Ship-building will be a capital branch of business on the Ohio and its confluent streams. The Ohio, when at the lowest, admits of four fathom of water, from the mouth of the Muskingum to its confluence with the Mississippi, except at the rapids, which, at such times, interrupt the navigation for about one mile. The descent in that distance is only 15 feet; and the channel, which is 250 yards wide, has at no time less than

5 feet of water. In freshes the water rises 30 feet; and boats are not only rowed against the stream, but ascend the rapids by means of their sails only. It is the opinion of the Geographer, and others who have viewed the spot, that, by cutting a canal a little more than half a mile on the south side of the river, which is low meadow ground, the rapids may be avoided, and the navigation made free at all seasons of the year. Hemp, timber, and iron will be plenty and good; and the high freshes, from February to April, and frequently in October and November, will bear a vessel of any burden over the rapids, in their present state, and out to sea.

The following observations, by an English engineer who had explored the western country, were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American department — at a time when we were British colonies, and our country considered only as the handmaid to Great Britain, in furnishing raw materials for their manufactures.

"No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India islands with lumber, provisions, etc., than the country of the Ohio, and for the following reasons:

"1. The lands are excellent, the climate temperate; the native grapes, silk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound everywhere; hemp, hops, and rye grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron ore are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton than that of the Ohio.

"2. The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other, by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now, be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of Alexandria, on the River Potowmac — where General Braddock's transports landed his troops — than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

"3. The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, potash, etc.

"4. Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles can be sent down the stream of Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India Islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia to those islands.

"5. Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles may be sent down the stream of Ohio to the sea, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by a land carriage of only 60 miles in Pennsylvania, where wagonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

"6. The expense of transporting European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio will not be so much as is now paid, and ever must

be paid, to a great part of the counties of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, etc., on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, etc., properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts, in the manner that is now done in Pennsylvania, and thereon stow their hemp, iron, tobacco, etc., and proceed with them to New Orleans.

"It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the western counties of Pennsylvania, and sent, by an expensive land carriage, to the city of Philadelphia; and from thence shipped to South Carolina and East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised in these provinces. The River Ohio seems kindly designed, by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour, not only for their own consumption, but also for carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Mill-stones, in abundance, are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every-where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills. The passage from Philadelphia to Pensacola is seldom made in less than a month; and 60 shillings sterling per ton freight (consisting of 16 barrels) is usually paid for flour, etc., thither. Boats, carrying 500 or 1,000 barrels of flour, may go in about the same time from Pittsburgh as from Philadelphia to Pensacola, and for half the above freight. The Ohio merchants could deliver flour, etc., there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, etc., as from thence to Pensacola. This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact that about the year 1746 there was a scarcity of provisions at New Orleans, and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither, in one winter, upward of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

If, instead of furnishing other nations with raw materials, companies of manufacturers from Europe could be introduced and established in this inviting situation, under the superintendence of men of property, it would occasion an immense addition of men and wealth to these new settlements, and serve as a beneficial example of economy to many parts of the United States.

Third. In the late ordinance of Congress for disposing of the western lands, as far down as the River Scioto, the provision that is made for schools and the endowment of an university looks with a most favorable aspect upon the settlement, and furnishes the presentiment that, by a proper attention to the subject of education, under these advantages, the field of science may be greatly enlarged, and the acquisition of useful knowledge placed upon a more respectable footing here than in any other part of the world. Besides the opportunity of opening a new and unexplored region for the range of natural history, botany, and the medical science, there will be one advantage which no other part of the earth can boast, and which probably will never again occur — that, in order to begin *right*, there

will be no *wrong* habits to combat, and no inveterate systems to overturn — there is no rubbish to remove, before you can lay the foundation. The first settlement will embosom many men of the most liberal minds — well versed in the world, in business, and every useful science. Could the necessary apparatus be procured, and funds immediately established, for founding a university on a liberal plan, that professors might be active in their various researches and employments — even now, in the infancy of the settlement, a proper use might be made of an advantage which will never be repeated.

Many political benefits would immediately result to the United States from such an early institution in that part of the country. The people in the Kentucky and Illinois countries are rapidly increasing. Their distance from the old States will prevent their sending their children thither for instruction; from the want of which they are in danger of losing all their habits of government, and allegiance to the United States. But, on seeing examples of government, science, and regular industry follow them into the neighborhood of their own country, they would favor their children with these advantages, and revive the ideas of order, citizenship, and the useful sciences. This attention, from these neighboring people, would increase the wealth and population of the new proposed settlement.

Fourth. In the ordinance of Congress, for the government of the territory north-west of the Ohio, it is provided that, after the said territory acquires a certain degree of population, it shall be divided into States. The Eastern State that is thus provided to be made is bounded on the Great Miami on the west and by the Pennsylvania line on the east. The centre of this State will fall between the Scioto and the Hockhocking. At the mouth of one of these rivers will probably be the seat of government for the State. And, if we may indulge the sublime contemplation of beholding the whole territory of the United States settled by an enlightened people, and continued under one extended government, on the river Ohio, and not far from this spot, will be the seat of empire for the whole dominion. This is central to the whole; it will best accommodate every part; it is the most pleasant, and probably the most healthful. Altho' it is an object of importance that Congress should soon fix on a seat of government, yet, in the present state of the country, it is presumed, it will not be thought best that such a seat be considered as immovably fixed. To take the range of the Alleghany Mountains from north to south, it is probable twenty years will not elapse before there will be more people on the western than on the eastern waters of the United States. The settlers ought even now to have it in view, that government will forever accommodate them as much as their brethren on the east. This may be necessary to prevent their forming schemes of independence, seeking other connections, and providing for their separate convenience. As it is the most exalted and benevolent object of legislation that ever was aimed at, to unite such an amazingly extensive people, and make them happy, under one jurisdiction, every act of Congress under the new Constitution, by looking forward to this object, will, we trust, inculcate and famil-

iarize the idea. They will, no doubt, at an early period, make a reservation or purchase of a suitable tract of land for a federal town that will be central to the whole, and give some public intimation of such intention to transfer the seat of government, on the occurrence of certain events, such as comparative population, etc. This would render such transfer easily practicable, by preventing the occasion of uneasiness in the old states, while it would not appear to be the result of danger, or the prospect of revolt, in the new.

"We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." So said Daniel Webster; and Senator Hoar said in his centennial address at Marietta: "The Ordinance of 1787 belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title-deeds of American constitutional liberty." The Ordinance of 1787 is printed in the Old South Leaflets, No. 13; and the notes which are there appended give a careful history and analysis of this great law, which forever prohibited slavery from the North-west. Every student is advised to procure and carefully study that leaflet. The part taken by Massachusetts men — Rufus King, Nathan Dane, Rufus Putnam, and others — in securing the passage of the Ordinance was very conspicuous. No man did more to secure its passage in proper form, or to secure the settlement of Ohio and the West by the best men, with the best institutions, than Rev. Manasseh Cutler, the famous minister of Ipswich, Mass. Mr. Cutler had been a chaplain in the army during the war. He was one of the ablest scientific men of his time, second only to Franklin in America. From 1801 till 1805 he was a member of Congress from Massachusetts. It was he who drafted the Ordinance of 1787 for Nathan Dane in its amended form, inserting the great clauses relating to religion, education, and slavery; and it is right to say that his influence was greater than that of any other in effecting its adoption — making its adoption a condition of the purchase of federal lands by the Ohio Company in Massachusetts, which was proposing settlements in the West. Upon its adoption he published at Salem the description of the Western country reprinted in the present leaflet, commending that country to the people of New England. This tract is notable as one of the first important papers urging emigration from New England to the West, which, then beginning, has gone on so steadily for a century, affecting the character of the whole country. The closing portions of the tract, touching the social and political aspects of the new West, are especially commended to the attention of the student. Dr. Cutler himself visited Marietta in 1788.

See the *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler*, especially Chap. VIII. of Vol. I., on the Influence of Dr. Cutler in the Formation of the Ordinance of 1787, and the history of the Ordinance, Vol. II., Appendix D. This life of Dr. Cutler altogether is an invaluable picture of the times, as Dr. Cutler was the friend and correspondent of the most important and interesting men in America and in close touch with all significant political and scientific movements.

See, also, in addition to the books mentioned in the Leaflet on the Ordinance of 1787, the new histories of Ohio and Indiana in the "American Commonwealths" series, especially the chapters relating to the Ordinance of 1787.

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 3.

Washington's Tour to the Ohio.

FROM HIS JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO RIVER IN 1770.

October 17th.— Dr. Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, (chiefly white-oak,) especially from Seveigley's Creek to Turtle Creek, but the whole broken; resembling, (as I think all the lands in this country do,) the Loudoun lands for hills. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Mr. Semple's who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. These houses, which are built of logs, and ranged into streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders, &c. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Allegany and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which next the land are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmonson.

18th.— Dined in the Fort with Colonel Croghan and the officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colonel Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Allegany.

19th.— Received a message from Colonel Croghan, that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I should be at his house about eleven (where they were to meet), I went up and received a

speech, with a string of wampum from the White Mingo, to the following effect.

"That I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen, when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and to desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, linked together in one chain; that I would inform the governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been some unhappy differences between them and the people upon our frontiers, they were all made up, and they hoped forgotten; and concluded with saying, that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish."

To this I answered, (after thanking them for their friendly welcome,) that all the injuries and affronts, that had passed on either side, were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia, than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, &ca., which was the reason of their not being so frequently among them: but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connexions with them, and that I would acquaint the governor with their desires.

After dinner at Colonel Croghan's we returned to Pittsburg, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage; also a young Indian warrior.

20*th*.— We embarked in a large canoe, with sufficient store of provisions and necessaries, and the following persons, (besides Dr. Craik and myself,) to wit: — Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians, who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's, with orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Magee, set out with us. At two we dined at Mr. Magee's, and encamped ten miles below, and four above the Logstown. We passed several large islands, which appeared to [be] very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills

on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so *vice versa*.

21*st*.— Left our encampment about six o'clock, and breakfasted at the Logstown, where we parted with Colonel Croghan and company about nine o'clock. At eleven we came to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek, opposite to which is a good situation for a house, and above it, on the same side, (that is the west,) there appears to be a body of fine land. About five miles lower down, on the east side, comes in Raccoon Creek, at the mouth of which and up it appears to be a body of good land also. All the land between this creek and the Monongahela, and for fifteen miles back, is claimed by Colonel Croghan under a purchase from the Indians, (and which sale he says is confirmed by his Majesty.) On this creek, where the branches thereof interlock with the waters of Shirtees Creek, there is, according to Colonel Croghan's account, a body of fine, rich, level land. This tract he wants to sell, and offers it at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, with an exemption of quitrents for twenty years; after which, to be subject to the payment of four shillings and two pence sterling per hundred; provided he can sell it in ten-thousand-acre lots. Note: the unsettled state of this country renders any purchase dangerous. From Raccoon Creek to Little Beaver Creek appears to me to be little short of ten miles, and about three miles below this we encamped; after hiding a barrel of biscuit in an island (in sight) to lighten our canoe.

22*d*.— As it began to snow about midnight, and continued pretty steadily at it, it was about half after seven before we left our encampment. At the distance of about eight miles we came to the mouth of Yellow Creek, (to the west) opposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land about two or three miles above this. About eleven or twelve miles from this, and just above what is called the Long Island (which though so distinguished is not very remarkable for length, breadth, or goodness), comes in on the east side the river a small creek, or run, the name of which I could not learn; and a mile or two below the island, on the west side, comes in Big Stony Creek (not larger in appearance than the other), on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or bodies of good land. About seven miles from the last mentioned creek, twenty-eight from our last encampment, and about

seventy-five from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town, situate on the west side the river, a little above the Cross Creeks. This place contains about twenty cabins, and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations. Had we set off early, and kept constantly at it, we might have reached lower than this place to-day; as the water in many places run pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday. The river from Fort Pitt to the Logstown has some ugly rifts and shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say. From the Logstown to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek is much the same kind of water; that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently along in others, and quite still in many. The water from Little Beaver Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows; there being some one part or another always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the river in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this town has not widened at all, nor doth the bottoms appear to be any larger. The hills which come close to the river opposite to each bottom are steep; and on the side in view, in many places, rocky and cragged; but said to abound in good land on the tops. These are not a range of hills, but broken and cut in two, as if there were frequent watercourses running through, (which however we did not perceive to be the case, consequently they must be small if any.) The river along down abounds in wild geese, and several kinds of ducks, but in no great quantity. We killed five wild turkeys to-day. Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town, we received the disagreeable news of two traders being killed at a town called the Grape-Vine Town, thirty-eight miles below this; which caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed, or wait for further intelligence.

23d.— Several imperfect accounts coming in, agreeing that only one person was killed, and the Indians not supposing it to be done by their people, we resolved to pursue our passage, till we could get some more distinct account of this transaction. Accordingly about two o'clock we set out with the two Indians, who were to accompany us, in our canoe, and in about four miles came to the mouth of a creek called Sculp Creek on the east side, at the mouth of which is a bottom of very good land, as I am told there likewise is up it. The Cross Creeks, (as they are called,) are not large; that on the west side is biggest. At the Mingo Town we found and left sixty & odd warriors of the Six Nations, going to the Cherokee country to proceed to war against the Catawbas. About ten miles below the town,

we came to two other cross creeks; that on the west side largest, but not big, and called by Nicholson, French Creek. About three miles, or a little better below this, at the lower point of some islands, which stand contiguous to each other, we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the people settled upon Redstone, &c.) had marked the land from hence all the way to Redstone; that there was a body of exceeding fine land lying about this place, and up opposite to the Mingo Town, as also down to the mouth of Fishing Creek. At this place we encamped.

24*th.*— We left our encampment before sunrise, and about six miles below it we came to the mouth of a pretty smart creek, coming in to the eastward, called by the Indians Split Island Creek, from its running in against an island. On this creek there is the appearance of good land a distance up it. Six miles below this again we came to another creek on the west side, called by Nicholson, Wheeling; and about a mile lower down appears to be another small water coming in on the east side, which I remark, because of the scarcity of them, and to show how badly furnished this country is with mill-seats. Two or three miles below this again is another run on the west side, up which is a near way by land to the Mingo Town; and about four miles lower, comes in another on the east, at which place is a path leading to the settlement at Red-stone. About a mile and a half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek, so called by the Indians from a stone, which is found here, out of which they make pipes. Opposite to this, that is, on the east side, is a bottom of exceeding rich land; but as it seems to lie low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowed. This bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appear, by the destruction and havoc among the trees. Two or three miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large creek on the west side, called by Nicholson Fox-Grape-Vine, by others Captema Creek, on which, eight miles up, is the town called the Grape-Vine Town; and at the mouth of it is the place where it was said the traders lived, and the one was killed. To this place we came about three o'clock in the afternoon, and finding nobody there, we agreed to camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the town, and inquire into the truth of the report concerning the murder.

25*th.*— About seven o'clock, Nicholson and the Indian returned; they found nobody at the town but two old Indian women (the men being a hunting); from these they learnt that the trader was not killed, but drowned in attempting to ford the

Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the traders, was in these parts; the trader, (father to him) being gone for horses to take home their skins. About half an hour after seven we set out from our encampment; around which and up the creek is a body of fine land. In our passage down to this we see innumerable quantities of turkeys, and many deer watering and browsing on the shore-side, some of which we killed. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any rifts, or very rapid water, the river gliding gently along; nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the country, except that the bottoms seemed to be getting a little longer and wider, as the bends of the river grew larger.

About five miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large creek to the eastward, called by the Indians Cut Creek, from a town or tribe of Indians, which they say was cut off entirely in a very bloody battle between them and the Six Nations. This creek empties just at the lower end of an island, and is seventy or eighty yards wide; and I fancy it is the creek commonly called by the people of Red-stone &c Wheeling. It extends, according to the Indians' account, a great way, and interlocks with the branches of Split-Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good land. Just below this, on the west side, comes in a small run; and about five miles below it, on the west side also, another middling large creek empties, called by the Indians Broken-Timber Creek; so named from the timber that is destroyed on it by a hurricane; on the head of this was a town of the Delawares, which is now left. Two miles lower down, on the same side, is another creek smaller than the last, and bearing, (according to the Indians,) the same name. Opposite to these two creeks, (on the east side,) appears to be a large bottom of good land. About two miles below the last mentioned creek, on the east side, and at the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a small creek or large run. Seven miles from this comes in Muddy Creek, on the east side of the river, a pretty large creek, and heads up against and with some of the waters of Monongahela, (according to the Indians' account,) and contains some bottoms of very good land; but in general the hills are steep, and country broken about it. At the mouth of this creek is the largest flat I have seen upon the river; the bottom extending two or three miles up the river above it, and a mile below; tho it does not seem to be of the richest kind and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low and subject to freshets. About half way in the long reach we encamped,

opposite to the beginning of a bottom on the east side of the river. At this place we threw out some lines at night and found a catfish, of the size of our largest river cats, hooked to it in the morning, though it was of the smallest kind here. We found no rifts in this day's passage, but pretty swift water in some places, and still in others. We found the bottoms increased in size, both as to length and breadth, and the river more choked up with fallen trees, and the bottom of the river next the shores rather more muddy, but in general stony, as it has been all the way down.

26th.— Left our encampment at half an hour after six o'clock, and passed a small run on the west side about four miles lower. At the lower end of the long reach, and for some distance up it, on the east side, is a large bottom, but low, and covered with beech near the river-shore, which is no indication of good land. The long reach is a straight course of the river for about eighteen or twenty miles, which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general is remarkably crooked. There are several islands in this reach, some containing an hundred or more acres of land; but all I apprehend liable to be overflowed.

At the end of this reach we found one Martin and Lindsay, two traders, and from them learnt, that the person drowned was one Philips, attempting, in company with Rogers, another Indian trader, to swim the river with their horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping. Five miles lower down comes in a large creek from the east, right against an island of good land, at least a mile or two in length. At the mouth of this creek (the name of which I could not learn, except that it was called by some Bull's Creek, from one Bull that hunted on it) is a bottom of good land, though rather too much mixed with beech. Opposite to this island the Indians showed us a buffalo's path, the tracks of which we see. Five or six miles below the last mentioned creek we came to the Three Islands before which we observed a small run on each side coming in. Below these islands is a large body of flat land, with a watercourse running through it on the east side, and the hills back neither so high nor steep in appearance, as they are up the river. On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, though much longer and wider. The bottom last mentioned is upon a straight reach of the river, I suppose six or eight miles in length, at the lower end of which on the east side comes in a pretty large run from the size of the mouth. About this, above, below and back, there seems to be a very large body of flat land with some little risings in it.

About twelve miles below the Three Islands we encamped, just above the mouth of a creek, which appears pretty large at the mouth, and just above an island. All the lands from a little below the creek, which I have distinguished by the name of Bull Creek, appear to be level, with some small hillocks intermixed, as far as we could see into the country. We met with no rifts to-day, but some pretty strong water; upon the whole tolerable gentle. The sides of the river were a good deal incommoded with old trees, which impeded our passage a little. This day proved clear and pleasant; the only day since the 18th that it did not rain or snow, or threaten the one or other.

27*th.*— Left our encampment a quarter before seven; and after passing the creek near which we lay, and another much the same size and on the same side, (west) also an island about two miles in length, (but not wide,) we came to the mouth of Muskingum, distant from our encampment about four miles. This river is about one hundred and fifty yards wide at the mouth; it runs out in a gentle current and clear stream, and is navigable a great way into the country for canoes. From Muskingum to the Little Kanhawa is about thirteen miles. This is about as wide at the mouth as the Muskingum, but the water much deeper. It runs up towards the inhabitants of Monongahela, and, according to the Indians' account, forks about forty or fifty miles up it, and the ridge between the two prongs leads directly to the settlement. To this fork, and above, the water is navigable for canoes. On the upper side of this river there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich land, and the country from hence quite up to the Three Islands level and in appearance fine. The Ohio running round it in the nature of a horse-shoe forms a neck of flat land, which, added to that running up the second long reach (aforementioned,) cannot contain less than fifty thousand acres in view.

About six or seven miles below the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indians called Little Hockhocking; but before we did this, we passed another small creek on the same side near the mouth of that river, and a cluster of islands afterwards. The lands for two or three miles below the mouth of the Kenhawa on both sides of the Ohio appear broken and indifferent; but opposite to the Little Hockhocking there is a bottom of exceeding good land, through which there runs a small watercourse. I suppose there may be, of this bottom and flat land together, two or three thousand acres. The lower end of this bottom is opposite to

a small island, which I dare say little of it is to be seen when the river is high. About eight miles below Little Hockhocking we encamped opposite to the mouth of the Great Hockhocking, which, though so called, is not a large water; though the Indians say canoes can go up it forty or fifty miles. Since we left the Little Kenhawa the lands appear neither so level nor so good. The bends of the river and bottoms are longer, indeed, but not so rich as in the upper part of the river.

28*th.*— Left our encampment about seven o'clock. Two miles below, a small run comes in, on the east side, through a piece of land that has a very good appearance, the bottom beginning above our encampment, and continuing in appearance wide for four miles down, to a place where there comes in a small run, and to the hills, where we found Kiashuta and his hunting party encamped. Here we were under a necessity of paying our compliments, as this person was one of the Six Nation chiefs, and the head of them upon this river. In the person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and treated us with great kindness, giving us a quarter of very fine buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that night with him, and, in order to retard us as little as possible, moves his camp down the river about 6 miles just below the mouth of the creek, the name of which I could not learn, it not being large. At this place we all encamped. After much counselling the over night, they all came to my fire the next morning with great formality; when Kiashuta, rehearsing what had passed between me and the Sachems at Colonel Croghan's, thanked me for saying, that peace and friendship were the wish of the people of Virginia, (with them) and for recommending it to the traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a trade opened with Virginia, and that the governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white people. This I promised to do.

29*th.*— The tedious ceremony, which the Indians observe in their counsellings and speeches, detained us till nine o'clock. Opposite to the creek, just below which we encamped, is a pretty long bottom, and I believe tolerably wide; but about eight or nine miles below the aforementioned creek, and just below a pavement of rocks on the west side, comes in a creek, with fallen timber at the mouth, on which the Indians say there are wide bottoms and good land. The river bottoms above,

for some distance, are very good, and continue for near half a mile below the creek. The pavement of rocks is only to be seen at low water. About a mile or a little better below the mouth of the creek there is another pavement of rocks on the east side, in a kind of sedgy ground. On this creek many buffaloes are according to the Indians' account. Six miles below this comes in a small creek on the west side, at the end of a small, naked island, and just above another pavement of rocks. This creek comes thro a bottom of fine land, and opposite to it, (on the east side of the river,) appears to be a large bottom of very fine land also. At this place begins what they call the Great Bend. Five miles below, this, again on the east side, comes in (about 200 yards above a little stream or gut) another creek, which is just below an island, on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, and a parcel of white-bodied sycamores; in the mouth of this creek lies a sycamore blown down by the wind. From hence an east line may be run three or four miles; thence a north line till it strikes the river, which I apprehend would include about three or four thousand acres of exceeding valuable land. At the mouth of this creek which is three or four miles above two islands (at the lower end of the last is a rapid, and the point of the bend) is the warrior's path to the Cherokee country. For two miles and a half below this the Ohio runs a north-east course, and finishes what they call the Great Bend. Two miles and a half below this we encamped. . . .

November 1st.— A little before eight o'clock we set off with our canoe up the river, to discover what kinds of lands lay upon the Kenhawa. The land on both sides this river just at the mouth is very fine; but on the east side, when you get towards the hills, (which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river,) it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek, where the aforementioned bottom ends on the east side the Kenhawa, which extends up it at least fifty miles by the Indians' account and of great width (to be ascertained as we come down); in many places very rich, in others somewhat wet and pondy; fit for meadow, but upon the whole exceeding valuable, as the land after you get out of the rich bottom is very good for grain, tho' not rich. We judged we went up this river about ten miles to-day. On the

east side appear to be the same good bottoms, but small, neither long nor wide, and the hills back of them rather steep and poor.

2d.— We proceeded up the river with the canoe about four miles farther, and then encamped, and went a hunting; killed five buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, &c. This country abounds in buffaloes and wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the bottoms a great many small, grassy ponds, or lakes, which are full of swans, geese, and ducks of different kinds. Some of our people went up the river four or five miles higher, and found the same kind of bottom on the west side; and we were told by the Indians, that it continued to the falls, which they judged to be fifty or sixty miles higher up. . . .

17th.— There is very little difference in the general width of the river from Fort Pitt to the Kenhawa; but in the depth I believe the odds are considerably in favor of the lower parts, as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the river was broad, and there, I do not know but there might have been a deep channel in some part of it. Every here and there are islands, some larger and some smaller, which, operating in the nature of locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water alongside of them. However there is none of these so swift but that a vessel may be rowed or set up with poles. When the river is in its natural state, large canoes, that will carry five or six thousand weight or more, may be worked against stream by four hands, twenty or twenty-five miles a day; and down, a good deal more. The Indians, who are very dexterous (even their women) in the management of canoes, have their hunting-camps and cabins all along the river, for the convenience of transporting their skins by water to market. In the fall, so soon as the hunting-season comes on, they set out with their families for this purpose; and in hunting will move their camps from place to place, till by the spring they get two or three hundred or more miles from their towns; then beaver catch it in their way up, which frequently brings them into the month of May, when the women are employed in planting, the men at market, and in idleness, till the Fall again, when they pursue the same course. During the summer months they live a poor and perishing life.

The Indians who reside upon the Ohio, (the upper parts of it at least,) are composed of Shawnees, Delawares, and some of the Mingoes, who, getting but little part of the consideration

that was given for the lands eastward of the Ohio, view the settlement of the people upon this river with an uneasy and jealous eye, and do not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right if the people settle thereon, notwithstanding the cession of the Six Nations thereto. On the other hand, the people from Virginia and elsewhere are exploring and marking all the lands that are valuable, not only on Redstone and other waters of the Monongahela, but along down the Ohio as low as the Little Kenhawa; and by next summer I suppose will get to the Great Kenhawa at least. How difficult it may be to contend with these people afterwards is easy to be judged, from every day's experience of lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; than which nothing is more probable, if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the people at present.

Washington's interest in the West began when he was hardly out of boyhood, and was employed to survey lands for Lord Fairfax among the Alleghanies. In 1749 his brothers, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, became members and Lawrence the chief manager of the Ohio Company, formed in Virginia that year for the colonization of the Ohio country,—the first scheme for the settlement of the West by Englishmen. His *Journal of a Tour to the Ohio in* 1753, published after his visit to the French posts on the Alleghany, and his letters at the time, show how deeply he realized the importance of the struggle between France and England for the possession of the great West. No other Virginian took so important a part in that struggle. At the close of the French war he received 5,000 acres on the Ohio, his claim as an officer for services in the war; and he possessed himself of other claims to so large an extent that at one time he controlled over 60,000 acres on the Ohio, at the outbreak of the Revolution being probably the largest owner of western lands in America. See the *Washington-Crawford Letters Concerning Western Lands*, edited by C. W. Butterfield. Crawford was the surveyor employed by Washington on the Ohio. Washington's Journal of his own tour to the Ohio in 1770, to inspect these lands,—about half of which is published in the present leaflet,—is remarkable for its careful studies of the condition and prospects of this part of the western country. This journey down the Ohio took him past the mouth of the Muskingum and the place where Rufus Putnam and the men from New England, less than twenty years later, were to found Marietta. Earlier in this same year, 1770, Washington had corresponded with Jefferson about the opening up of the Potomac and a connection with the Ohio, as "the channel of conveyance of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire"; and this was the first subject of his thought upon the close of the Revolution. He explored the Mohawk route to the West. He explored the head waters of the Potomac and the Ohio, travelling nearly 700 miles on horseback, making careful maps. He wrote a remarkable letter to Benjamin Harrison, the governor of Virginia, urging the opening of lines of communication with the West. See this letter and the historical notes in Old South Leaflet, No. 16 He became the president of the Potomac Company, organized in 1785 for establishing connections with the West. See Pickell's *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* for a full account of this, and Washington's letters to Jefferson, Lee, and others on the importance of opening up the West and binding the sections of the country firmly together, which latter point he strongly emphasized in his Farewell Address. For his interest in the Ordinance of 1787 and his services in behalf of Gen. Rufus Putnam and the Ohio Company in the settlement of Marietta and the organization of the North-west territory, see the *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler* and the *St. Clair Papers*. The whole history of Washington's interest in the opening of the West forms one of the most important chapters of his life.

Old South Leaflets.

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The North-west Territory and Western Reserve

By James A. Garfield.

Address before the Historical Society of Geauga County, Ohio, September 16, 1873.

From the historian's standpoint, our country is peculiarly and exceptionally fortunate. The origin of nearly all great nations, ancient and modern, is shrouded in fable or traditionary legend. The story of the founding of Rome by the wolf-nursed brothers, Romulus and Remus, has long been classed among the myths of history; and the more modern story of Hengist and Horsa leading the Saxons to England is almost equally legendary. The origin of Paris can never be known. Its foundation was laid long before Gaul had written records. But the settlement, civilization, and political institutions of our country can be traced from their first hour by the clear light of history. It is true that over this continent hangs an impenetrable veil of tradition, mystery, and silence. But it is the tradition of races fast passing away; the mystery of a still earlier race, which flourished and perished long before its discovery by the Europeans. The story of the Mound-builders can never be told. The fate of the Indian tribes will soon be a half-forgotten tale. But the history of European civilization and institutions on this continent can be traced with precision and fullness, unless we become forgetful of the past, and neglect to save and perpetuate its precious memorials.

In discussing the scope of historical study in reference to our country, I will call attention to a few general facts concerning its discovery and settlement.

First.— The Romantic Period of Discovery on this Continent.

There can scarcely be found in the realms of romance anything more fascinating than the records of discovery and ad-

venture during the two centuries that followed the landing of Columbus on the soil of the New World. The greed for gold; the passion for adventure; the spirit of chivalry; the enthusiasm and fanaticism of religion,—all conspired to throw into America the hardiest and most daring spirits of Europe, and made the vast wilderness of the New World the theatre of the most stirring achievements that history has recorded.

Early in the sixteenth century, Spain, turning from the conquest of Granada and her triumph over the Moors, followed her golden dreams of the New World with the same spirit that in an earlier day animated her Crusaders. In 1528 Ponce de Leon began his search for the fountain of perpetual youth, the tradition of which he had learned among the natives of the West Indies. He discovered the low-lying coasts of Florida, and explored its interior. Instead of the fountain of youth, he found his grave among its everglades.

A few years later De Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, landed in Florida with a gallant array of knights and nobles, and commenced his explorations through the western wilderness. In 1541 he reached the banks of the Mississippi River, and, crossing it, pushed his discoveries westward over the great plains; but, finding neither the gold nor the South Sea of his dreams, he returned to be buried in the waters of the great river he had discovered.

While England was more leisurely exploring the bays and rivers of the Atlantic coast, and searching for gold and peltry, the chevaliers and priests of France were chasing their dreams in the North, searching for a passage to China, and the realms of Far Cathay, and telling the mystery of the Cross to the Indian tribes of the far West. Coasting northward, her bold navigators discovered the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and in 1525 Cartier sailed up its broad current to the rocky heights of Quebec, and to the rapids above Montreal, which were afterwards named La Chine, in derision of the belief that the adventurers were about to find China.

In 1609 Champlain pushed above the rapids, and discovered the beautiful lake that bears his name. In 1615 Priest La Caron pushed northward and westward through the wilderness, and discovered Lake Huron.

In 1635 the Jesuit missionaries founded the Mission St. Mary. In 1654 another priest had entered the wilderness of Northern New York, and found the salt springs of Onondaga. In 1659–1660 French traders and priests passed the winter on Lake Superior, and established missions along its shores.

Among the earlier discoverers, no name shines out with more brilliancy than that of the Chevalier La Salle. The story of his explorations can scarcely be equalled in romantic interest by any of the stirring tales of the Crusaders. Born of a proud and wealthy family in the north of France, he was destined for the service of the Church and of the Jesuit Order. But his restless spirit, fired with the love of adventure, broke away from the ecclesiastical restraints to confront the dangers of the New World, and to extend the empire of Louis XIV. From the best evidence accessible, it appears that he was the first white man that saw the Ohio River. At twenty-six years of age, we find him with a small party, near the western extremity of Lake Ontario, boldly entering the domain of the dreaded Iroquois, travelling southward and westward through the wintry wilderness until he reached a branch of the Ohio, probably the Alleghany. He followed it to the main stream, and descended that, until in the winter of 1669 and 1670 he reached the Falls of the Ohio, near the present site of Louisville. His companions refusing to go further, he returned to Quebec, and prepared for still greater undertakings.

In the mean time the Jesuit missionaries had been pushing their discoveries on the Northern Lake. In 1673 Joliet and Marquette started from Green Bay, dragging their canoes up the rapids of Fox River; crossed Lake Winnebago; found Indian guides to conduct them to the waters of the Wisconsin; descended that stream to the westward, and on the 16th of June reached the Mississippi near the spot where now stands the city of Prairie du Chien. To-morrow will be the two hundredth anniversary of that discovery. One hundred and thirty-two years before that time De Soto had seen the same river more than a thousand miles below; but during that interval it is not known that any white man had looked upon its waters.

Turning southward, these brave priests descended the great river, amid the awful solitudes. The stories of demons and monsters of the wilderness which abounded among the Indian tribes did not deter them from pushing their discoveries. They continued their journey southward to the mouth of the Arkansas River, telling as best they could the story of the Cross to the wild tribes along the shores. Returning from the Kaskaskias and travelling thence to Lake Michigan, they reached Green Bay at the end of September, 1673, having on their journey paddled their canoes more than twenty-five hundred miles. Marquette remained to establish missions among

the Indians, and to die, three years later, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, while Joliet returned to Quebec to report his discoveries.

In the mean time Count Frontenac, a noble of France, had been made Governor of Canada, and found in La Salle a fit counsellor and assistant in his vast schemes of discovery. La Salle was sent to France, to enlist the Court and the Ministers of Louis; and in 1677–1678 returned to Canada, with full power under Frontenac to carry forward his grand enterprises. He had developed three great purposes: first, to realize the old plan of Champlain, the finding of a pathway to China across the American Continent; second, to occupy and develop the regions of the Northern Lakes; and, third, to descend the Mississippi and establish a fortified post at its mouth, thus securing an outlet for the trade of the interior and checking the progress of Spain on the Gulf of Mexico.

In pursuance of this plan, we find La Salle and his companions, in January, 1679, dragging their cannon and materials for ship-building around the Falls of Niagara, and laying the keel of a vessel two leagues above the cataract, at the mouth of Cayuga Creek. She was a schooner of forty-five tons' burden, and was named "The Griffin." On the 7th of August, 1679, with an armament of five cannon, and a crew and company of thirty-four men, she started on her voyage up Lake Erie, the first sail ever spread over the waters of our lake. On the fourth day she entered Detroit River; and, after encountering a terrible storm on Lake Huron, passed the straits and reached Green Bay early in September. A few weeks later she started back for Niagara, laden with furs, and was never heard from.

While awaiting the supplies which "The Griffin" was expected to bring, La Salle explored Lake Michigan to its southern extremity, ascended the St. Joseph, crossed the portage to the Kankakee, descended the Illinois, and, landing at an Indian village on the site of the present village of Utica, Ill., celebrated mass on New Year's Day, 1680. Before the winter was ended he became certain that "The Griffin" was lost. But, undaunted by his disasters, on the 3d of March, with five companions, he began the incredible feat of making the journey to Quebec on foot, in the dead of winter. This he accomplished. He reorganized his expedition, conquered every difficulty, and on the 21st of December, 1681, with a party of fifty-four Frenchmen and friendly Indians, set out for the present site of Chicago, and by way of the Illinois River reached the Mississippi Feb. 6, 1682. He descended its stream, and on the 9th of

April, 1682, standing on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, solemnly proclaimed to his companions and to the wilderness that, in the name of Louis the Great, he took possession of the Great Valley watered by the Mississippi River. He set up a column, and inscribed upon it the arms of France, and named the country Louisiana. Upon this act rested the claim of France to the vast region stretching from the Alleghany to the Rocky Mountains, from the Rio Grande and the Gulf to the farthest springs of the Missouri.

I will not follow further the career of the great explorers. Enough has been said to exhibit the spirit and character of their work. I would I were able to inspire the young men of this country with a desire to read the history of these stirring days of discovery that opened up to Europe the mysteries of this New World.

As Irving has well said of their work: "It was poetry put into action; it was the knight-errantry of the Old World carried into the depths of the American wilderness. The personal adventures; the feats of individual prowess; the picturesque descriptions of steel-clad cavaliers, with lance and helm and prancing steed, glittering through the wilderness of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and the prairies of the Far West,— would seem to us mere fictions of romance, did they not come to us in the matter-of-fact narratives of those who were eye-witnesses, and who recorded minute memoranda of every incident."

Second.— The Struggle for National Dominion.

I next invite your attention to the less stirring but not less important struggle for the possession of the New World, which succeeded the period of discovery.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century North America was claimed mainly by three great powers. Spain held possession of Mexico, and a belt reaching eastward to the Atlantic, and northward to the southern line of Georgia, except a portion near the mouth of the Mississippi held by the French. England held from the Spanish line on the south to the Northern Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and westward to the Alleghanies. France held all north of the lakes and west of the Alleghanies, and southward to the possessions of Spain. Some of the boundary lines were but vaguely defined, others were disputed; but the general outlines were as stated.

Besides the struggle for national possession, the religious element entered largely into the contest. It was a struggle between the Catholic and Protestant faiths. The Protestant colonies of England were enveloped on three sides by the vigor-

ous and perfectly organized Catholic powers of France and Spain.

Indeed, at an early date, by the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. all America had been given to the Spaniards. But France, with a zeal equal to that of Spain, had entered the list to contest for the prize. So far as the religious struggle was concerned, the efforts of France and Spain were resisted only by the Protestants of the Atlantic coast.

The main chain of the Alleghanies was supposed to be impassable until 1714, when Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, led an expedition to discover a pass to the great valley beyond. He found one somewhere near the western boundary of Virginia and by it descended to the Ohio. On his return he established the "Transmontane Order," or "Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe." On the sandy plains of Eastern Virginia horse-shoes were rarely used, but, in climbing the mountains, he had found them necessary, and, on creating his companions knights of this new Order, he gave to each a golden horse-shoe, inscribed with the motto,—

"*Sic jurat transcendere montes.*"

He represented to the British Ministry the great importance of planting settlements in the western valley; and, with the foresight of a statesman, pointed out the danger of allowing the French the undisputed possession of that rich region.

The progress of England had been slower, but more certain than that of her great rival. While the French were establishing trading-posts at points widely remote from each other, along the lakes and the Mississippi, and in the wilderness of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the English were slowly but firmly planting their settlements on the Atlantic slope, and preparing to contest for the rich prize of the Great West. They possessed one great advantage over their French rivals. They had cultivated the friendship of the Iroquois Confederacy, the most powerful combination of Indian tribes known to the New World. That Confederacy held possession of the southern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie; and their hostility to the French had confined the settlements of that people mainly to the northern shores.

During the first half of the eighteenth century many treaties were made by the English with these confederated tribes, and some valuable grants of land were obtained on the eastern slope of the Mississippi Valley.

About the middle of that century the British Government began to recognize the wisdom of Governor Spottswood, and perceived that an empire was soon to be saved or lost.

In 1748 a company was organized by Thomas Lee and Lawrence and Augustine Washington, under the name of "The Ohio Company," and received a royal grant of one-half million acres of land in the valley of the Ohio. In 1751 a British trading-post was established on the Big Miami; but in the following year it was destroyed by the French. Many similar efforts of the English colonists were resisted by the French; and during the years 1751–2–3 it became manifest that a great struggle was imminent between the French and the English for the possession of the West. The British Ministers were too much absorbed in intrigues at home to appreciate the importance of this contest; and they did but little more than to permit the colonies to protect their rights in the Valley of the Ohio.

In 1753 the Ohio Company had opened a road, by "Will's Creek," into the western valley, and were preparing to locate their colony. At the same time the French had sent a force to occupy and hold the line of the Ohio. As the Ohio Company was under the especial protection of Virginia, the Governor of that colony determined to send a messenger to the commander of the French forces, and demand the reason for invading the British dominions. For this purpose he selected George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, who, with six assistants, set out from Williamsburg, Va., in the middle of November, for the waters of the Ohio and the lakes. After a journey of nine days through sleet and snow, he reached the Ohio at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela; and his quick eye seemed to foresee the destiny of the place. "I spent some time," said he, "in viewing the rivers. The land in the fork has the absolute command of both." On this spot Fort Pitt was afterwards built, and still later the city of Pittsburg.

As Bancroft has said, "After creating in imagination a fortress and city, his party swam across the Alleghany, wrapped their blankets around them for the night on the north-west bank." Proceeding down the Ohio to Logstown, he held a council with the Shawnees and the Delawares, who promised to secure the aid of the Six Nations in resisting the French. He then proceeded to the French posts at Venango and Fort Le Bœuf (the latter fifteen miles from Lake Erie), and warned the commanders that the rights of Virginia must not be in-

vaded. He received for his answer that the French would seize every Englishman in the Ohio Valley.

Returning to Virginia in January, 1754, he reported to the Governor, and immediate preparations were made by the colonists to maintain their rights in the West, and resist the incursions of the French. In this movement originated the first military union among the English colonists.

Although peace existed between France and England, formidable preparations were made by the latter to repel encroachments on the frontier, from Ohio to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Braddock was sent to America, and in 1755, at Alexandria, Va., he planned four expeditions against the French.

It is not necessary to speak in detail of the war that followed. After Braddock's defeat near the forks of the Ohio, which occurred on the 9th of July, 1755, England herself took active measures for prosecuting the war.

On the 25th of November, 1758, Forbes captured Fort DuQuesne, which thus passed into the possession of the English, and was named Fort Pitt, in honor of the great Minister.

In 1759 Quebec was captured by General Wolfe; and the same year Niagara fell into the hands of the English.

In 1760 an English force, under Major Rogers, moved westward from Niagara, to occupy the French posts on the Upper Lakes. They coasted along the south shore of Erie, the first English-speaking people that sailed its waters. Near the mouth of the Grand River they met in council the chiefs of the great warrior Pontiac. A few weeks later they took possession of Detroit. "Thus," says Mr. Bancroft, "was Michigan won by Great Britain, though not for itself. There were those who foresaw that the acquisition of Canada was the prelude of American Independence."

Late in December Rogers returned to the Maumee; and, setting out from the point where Sandusky City now stands, crossed the Huron River to the northern branch of White Woman's River, and passing thence by the English village of Beaverstown, and up the Ohio, reached Fort Pitt on the 23d of January, 1761, just a month after he left Detroit.

Under the leadership of Pitt, England was finally triumphant in this great struggle; and by the Treaty of Paris, of Feb. 10, 1763, she acquired Canada and all the territory east of the Mississippi River, and southward to the Spanish Territory, excepting New Orleans and the island on which it is situated.

During the twelve years which followed the Treaty of Paris

the English colonists were pushing their settlements into the newly acquired territory; but they encountered the opposition of the Six Nations and their allies, who made fruitless efforts to capture the British posts,— Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt.

At length, in 1768, Sir William Johnson concluded a treaty at Fort Stanwix with these tribes, by which all the lands south of the Ohio and the Alleghany were sold to the British, the Indians to remain in undisturbed possession of the territory north and west of those rivers. New companies were organized to occupy the territory thus obtained.

"Among the foremost speculators in Western lands at that time," says the author of "Annals of the West," "was George Washington." In 1769 he was one of the signers of a petition to the king for a grant of two and a half millions acres in the West. In 1770 he crossed the mountains and descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, to locate the ten thousand acres to which he was entitled for services in the French War.

Virginians planted settlements in Kentucky; and pioneers from all the colonies began to occupy the frontiers, from the Alleghany to the Tennessee.

Third.— The War of the Revolution, and its Relations to the West.

How came the Thirteen Colonies to possess the Valley of the Mississippi? The object of their struggle was independence, and yet by the Treaty of Peace in 1783 not only was the independence of the Thirteen Colonies conceded, but there was granted to the new Republic a western territory, bounded by the Northern Lakes, the Mississippi, and the French and Spanish possessions.

How did these hills and valleys become a part of the United States? It is true that by virtue of royal charters several of the colonies set up claims extending to the "South Sea." The knowledge which the English possessed of the geography of this country, at that time, is illustrated by the fact that Captain John Smith was commissioned to sail up the Chickahominy, and find a passage to China! But the claims of the colonies were too vague to be of any consequence in determining the boundaries of the two governments. Virginia had indeed extended her settlements into the region south of the Ohio River, and during the Revolution had annexed that country to the Old Dominion, calling it the County of Kentucky. But previous to the Revolution the colonies had taken no such action in reference to the territory north-west of the Ohio.

The cession of that great Territory, under the treaty of 1783, was due mainly to the foresight, the courage, and the endurance of one man, who never received from his country any adequate recognition for his great service. That man was George Rogers Clark; and it is worth your while to consider the work he accomplished. Born in Virginia, he was in early life a surveyor, and afterward served in Lord Dunmore's War. In 1776 he settled in Kentucky, and was, in fact, the founder of that commonwealth. As the war of the Revolution progressed, he saw that the pioneers west of the Alleghanies were threatened by two formidable dangers: first, by the Indians, many of whom had joined the standard of Great Britain; and, second, by the success of the war itself. For, should the colonies obtain their independence while the British held possession of the Mississippi Valley, the Alleghanies would be the western boundary of the new Republic, and the pioneers of the West would remain subject to Great Britain.

Inspired by these views, he made two journeys to Virginia to represent the case to the authorities of that colony. Failing to impress the House of Burgesses with the importance of warding off these dangers, he appealed to the Governor, Patrick Henry, and received from him authority to enlist seven companies to go to Kentucky subject to his orders, and serve for three months after their arrival in the West. This was a public commission.

Another document, bearing date Williamsburg, Jan. 2, 1778, was a secret commission, which authorized him, in the name of Virginia, to capture the military posts held by the British in the North-west. Armed with this authority, he proceeded to Pittsburg, where he obtained ammunition, and floated it down the river to Kentucky, succeeded in enlisting seven companies of pioneers, and in the month of June, 1778, commenced his march through the untrodden wilderness to the region of the Illinois. With a daring that is scarcely equalled in the annals of war, he captured the garrisons of Kaskaskia, St. Vincent, and Cahokia, and sent his prisoners to the Governor of Virginia, and by his energy and skill won over the French inhabitants of that region to the American cause.

In October, 1778, the House of Burgesses passed an act declaring that "all the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who are already settled there, or shall hereafter be settled on the west side of the Ohio, shall be included in the District of Kentucky, which shall be called Illinois County." In other words, George Rogers Clark conquered the Territory

of the North-west in the name of Virginia, and the flag of the Republic covered it at the close of the war.

In negotiating the Treaty of Peace at Paris, in 1783, the British commissioners insisted on the Ohio River as the north-western boundary of the United States; and it was found that the only tenable ground on which the American commissioners relied, to sustain our claim to the Lakes and the Mississippi as the boundary, was the fact that George Rogers Clark had conquered the country, and Virginia was in undisputed possession of it at the cessation of hostilities.

In his "Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-west Territory," Judge Burnet says, "That fact [the capture of the British posts] was confirmed and admitted, and was the chief ground on which the British commissioners reluctantly abandoned their claim."

It is a stain upon the honor of our country that such a man — the leader of pioneers who made the first lodgment on the site now occupied by Louisville, who was in fact the founder of the State of Kentucky, and who by his personal foresight and energy gave nine great States to the Republic — was allowed to sink under a load of debt incurred for the honor and glory of his country.

In 1799 Judge Burnet rode some ten or twelve miles from Louisville into the country to visit this veteran hero. He says he was induced to make this visit by the veneration he entertained for Clark's military talents and services.

"He had," says Burnet, "the appearance of a man born to command, and fitted by nature for his destiny. There was a gravity and solemnity in his demeanor resembling that which so eminently distinguished the venerated Father of his Country. A person familiar with the lives and character of the military veterans of Rome, in the days of her greatest power, might readily have selected *this remarkable man* as a specimen of the model he had formed of them in his own mind; but he was rapidly falling a victim to his extreme sensibility, and to the ingratitude of his native State, under whose banner he had fought bravely and with great success.

"The time will certainly come when the enlightened and magnanimous citizens of Louisville will remember the debt of gratitude they owe the memory of that distinguished man. He was the leader of the pioneers who made the first lodgment on the site now covered by their rich and splendid city. He was its protector during the years of its infancy, and in the period of its greatest danger. Yet the traveller, who had read of his

achievements, admired his character, and visited the theatre of his brilliant deeds, discovers nothing indicating the place where his remains are deposited, and where he can go and pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the departed and gallant hero."

This eulogy of Judge Burnet is fully warranted by the facts of history. There is preserved in the War Department at Washington a portrait of Clark, which gives unmistakable evidence of a character of rare grasp and power. No one can look upon that remarkable face without knowing that the original was a man of unusual force.

Fourth.— Organization and Settlement of the North-west Territory.

Soon after the close of the Revolution our Western country was divided into three territories,— the Territory of the Mississippi, the Territory south of the Ohio, and the Territory north-west of the Ohio. For the purposes of this address I shall consider only the organization and settlement of the latter.

It would be difficult to find any country so covered with conflicting claims of title as the territory of the North-west. Several States, still asserting the validity of their royal charters, set up claims more or less definite to portions of this Territory. First,— by royal charter of 1662, confirming a council charter of 1630, Connecticut claimed a strip of land bounded on the east by the Narragansett River, north by Massachusetts, south by Long Island Sound, and extending westward between the parallels of 41 degrees and 42 degrees 2 minutes north latitude, to the mythical "South Sea." Second,— New York, by her charter of 1614, claimed a territory marked by definite boundaries, lying across the boundaries of the Connecticut charter. Third,— by the grant to William Penn, in 1664, Pennsylvania claimed a territory overlapping part of the territory of both these colonies. Fourth,— the charter of Massachusetts also conflicted with some of the claims above mentioned. Fifth,— Virginia claimed the whole of the North-west Territory by right of conquest, and in 1779, by an act of her Legislature, annexed it as a county. Sixth,— several grants had been made of special tracts to incorporated companies by the different States. And, finally, the whole Territory of the North-west was claimed by the Indians as their own.

The claims of New York, Massachusetts, and part of the claim of Pennsylvania had been settled before the war by royal commissioners: the others were still unadjusted. It became evident that no satisfactory settlement could be made except

by Congress. That body urged the several States to make a cession of the lands they claimed, and thus enable the General Government to open the North-west for settlement.

On the 1st of March, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, delegates in Congress, executed a deed of cession in the name of Virginia, by which they transferred to the United States the title of Virginia to the North-west Territory, but reserving to that State one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land which Virginia had promised to George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers who with him captured the British posts in the West. Also, another tract of land between the Scioto and Little Miami, to enable Virginia to pay her promised bounties to her officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army.

On the 27th of October, 1784, a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N.Y.) with the Six Nations, by which these tribes ceded to the United States their vague claims to the lands north and west of the Ohio. On the 31st of January, 1785, a treaty was made at Fort McIntosh (now the town of Beaver, Pa.) with the four Western tribes, the Wyandottes, the Delawares, the Chippewas, and the Tawas, by which all their lands in the North-west Territory were ceded to the United States, except that portion bounded by a line from the mouth of the Cuyahoga up that river to the portage between the Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas, thence down that branch to the mouth of Sandy, thence westwardly to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, thence along the portage to the Great Miami or Maumee, and down the south-east side of the river to its mouth, thence along the shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The territory thus described was to be forever the exclusive possession of these Indians.

In 1788 a settlement was made at Marietta, and soon after other settlements were begun. But the Indians were dissatisfied, and, by the intrigues of their late allies, the British, a savage and bloody war ensued, which delayed for several years the settlement of the State. The campaign of General Harmar in 1790 was only a partial success. In the following year a more formidable force was placed under the command of General St. Clair, who suffered a disastrous and overwhelming defeat on the 4th of November of that year, near the head-waters of the Wabash.

It was evident that nothing but a war so decisive as to break the power of the Western tribes could make the settlement of

Ohio possible. There are but few things in the career of George Washington that so strikingly illustrate his sagacity and prudence as the policy he pursued in reference to this subject. He made preparations for organizing an army of five thousand men, appointed General Wayne to the command of a special force, and early in 1792 drafted detailed instructions for giving it special discipline to fit it for Indian warfare. During that and the following year he exhausted every means to secure the peace of the West by treaties with the tribes.

But agents of England and Spain were busy in intrigues with the Indians in hopes of recovering a portion of the great empire they had lost by the treaty of 1783. So far were the efforts of England carried that a British force was sent to the rapids of the Maumee, where they built a fort, and inspired the Indians with the hope that the British would join them in fighting the forces of the United States.

All efforts to make a peaceable settlement on any other basis than the abandonment on the part of the United States of all territory north of the Ohio having failed, General Wayne proceeded with that wonderful vigor which had made him famous on so many fields of the Revolution, and on the 20th of August, 1794, defeated the Indians and their allies on the banks of the Maumee, and completely broke the power of their confederation.

On the 3d of August, 1795, General Wayne concluded at Greenville a treaty of lasting peace with these tribes and thus opened the State to settlement. In this treaty there was reserved to the Indians the same territory west of the Cuyahoga as described in the treaty of Fort McIntosh of 1785.

Fifth.— Settlement of the Western Reserve.

I have now noticed briefly the adjustment of the several claims to the North-western Territory, excepting that of Connecticut. It has already been seen that Connecticut claimed a strip westward from the Narragansett River to the Mississippi, between the parallels of 41 degrees and 42 degrees 2 minutes; but that portion of her claim which crossed the territory of New York and Pennsylvania had been extinguished by adjustment. Her claim to the territory west of Pennsylvania was unsettled until Sept. 14, 1786, when she ceded it all to the United States, except that portion lying between the parallels above named and a line one hundred and twenty miles west of the western line of Pennsylvania and parallel with it. This tract of country was about the size of the present State, and was called "New Connecticut."

In May, 1792, the Legislature of Connecticut granted to those of her citizens whose property had been burned or otherwise spoliated by the British during the war of the Revolution half a million of acres from the west end of the reserve. These were called "The Fire Lands."

On the 5th of September, 1795, Connecticut executed a deed to John Caldwell, Jonathan Brace, and John Morgan, trustees for the Connecticut Land Company, for three million acres of the reserve lying west of Pennsylvania for $1,200,000, or at the rate of 40 cents per acre. The State gave only a quit-claim deed, transferring only such title as she possessed, and leaving all the remaining Indian titles to the reserve, to be extinguished by the purchasers themselves. With the exception of a few hundred acres previously sold in the neighborhood of the Salt Spring tract on the Mahoning, all titles to lands on the reserve east of "The Fire Lands" rest on this quit-claim deed of Connecticut to the three trustees, who were all living as late as 1836, and joined in making deeds to the lands on the reserve.

On the same day that the trust deed was made articles of association were signed by the proprietors, providing for the government of the company. The management of its affairs was intrusted to seven directors. They determined to extinguish the Indian title, and survey their land into townships five miles square. Moses Cleaveland, one of the directors, was made General Agent; Augustus Porter, Principal Surveyor; and Seth Pease, Astronomer and Surveyor. To these were added four assistant surveyors, a commissary, a physician and thirty-seven other employees. This party assembled at Schenectady, N.Y., in the spring of 1796, and prepared for their expedition.

It is interesting to follow them on their way to the Reserve. They ascended the Mohawk River in bateaux, passing through Little Falls, and from the present city of Rome took their boats and stores across into Wood Creek. Passing down the stream, they crossed the Oneida Lake, thence down the Oswego to Lake Ontario, coasting along the lake to Niagara. After encountering innumerable hardships, the party reached Buffalo on the 17th of June, where they met "Red Jacket," and the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, and on the 23d of that month completed a contract with those chiefs, by which they purchased all the rights of those Indians to the lands on the Reserve, for five hundred pounds, New York currency, to be paid in goods to the Western Indians, and two beef cattle and one hundred gallons of whiskey to the Eastern Indians, besides gifts and provisions to all of them.

Setting out from Buffalo on the 27th of June, they coasted along the shore of the lake, some of the party in boats and others marching along the banks.

In the journal of Seth Pease, published in Whittlesey's History of Cleveland, I find the following: —

"Monday, July 4, 1796.— We that came by land arrived at the confines of New Connecticut, and gave three cheers precisely at 5 o'clock P.M. We then proceeded to Conneaut, at five hours thirty minutes, our boats got on an hour after; we pitched our tents on the east side."

In the journal of General Cleaveland is the following entry: "On this Creek ('Conneaugh'), in New Connecticut Land, July 4, 1796, under General Moses Cleaveland, the surveyors and men sent by the Connecticut Land Company to survey and settle the Connecticut Reserve, were the first English people who took possession of it.

. . . "We gave three cheers and christened the place Fort Independence; and, after many difficulties, perplexities and hardships were surmounted, and we were on the good and promised land, felt that a just tribute of respect to the day ought to be paid. There were in all, including women and children, fifty in number. The men, under Captain Tinker, ranged themselves on the beach and fired a Federal salute of fifteen rounds, and then the sixteenth in honor of New Connecticut. Drank several toasts. . . . Closed with three cheers. Drank several pails of grog. Supped and retired in good order."

Three days afterward General Cleaveland held a council with Paqua, Chief of the Massasagas, whose village was at Conneaut Creek. The friendship of these Indians was purchased by a few trinkets and twenty-five dollars' worth of whiskey.

A cabin was erected on the bank of Conneaut Creek; and, in honor of the commissary of the expedition, was called "Stow Castle." At this time the white inhabitants west of the Genesee River and along the coasts of the lakes were as follows: the garrison at Niagara, two families at Lewistown, one at Buffalo, one at Cleveland, and one at Sandusky. There were no other families east of Detroit; and, with the exception of a few adventurers at the Salt Springs of the Mahoning, the interior of New Connecticut was an unbroken wilderness.

The work of surveying was commenced at once. One party went southward on the Pennsylvania line to find the 41st parallel, and began the survey; another, under General Cleaveland, coasted along the lake to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, which they reached on the 22d of July, and there laid the

foundation of the chief city of the Reserve. A large portion of the survey was made during that season, and the work was completed in the following year.

By the close of the year 1800 there were thirty-two settlements on the Reserve, though as yet no organization of government had been established. But the pioneers were a people who had been trained in the principles and practices of civil order; and these were transplanted to their new home. In New Connecticut there was but little of that lawlessness which so often characterizes the people of a new country. In many instances, a township organization was completed and their minister chosen before the pioneers left home. Thus they planted the institutions and opinions of Old Connecticut in their new wilderness homes.

There are townships on this Western Reserve which are more thoroughly New England in character and spirit than most of the towns of the New England of to-day. Cut off as they were from the metropolitan life that had gradually been moulding and changing the spirit of New England, they preserved here in the wilderness the characteristics of New England, as it was when they left it at the beginning of the century. This has given to the people of the Western Reserve those strongly marked qualities which have always distinguished them.

For a long time it was difficult to ascertain the political and legal status of the settlers on the Reserve. The State of Connecticut did not assume jurisdiction over its people, because that State had parted with her claim to the soil.

By a proclamation of Governor St. Clair, in 1788, Washington County had been organized, having its limits extended westward to the Scioto and northward to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, with Marietta as the county seat. These limits included a portion of the Western Reserve. But the Connecticut settlers did not consider this a practical government, and most of them doubted its legality.

By the end of the century seven counties, Washington, Hamilton, Ross, Wayne, Adams, Jefferson, and Knox, had been created, but none of them were of any practical service to the settlers on the Reserve. No magistrate had been appointed for that portion of the country, no civil process was established, and no mode existed of making legal conveyances.

But in the year 1800 the State of Connecticut, by act of her Legislature, transferred to the National Government all her claim to civil jurisdiction. Congress assumed the political control, and the President conveyed by patent the fee of

the soil to the Government of the State for the use of the grantees and the parties claiming under them. Whereupon, in pursuance of this authority, on the 22d of September, 1800, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation establishing the county of Trumbull, to include within its boundaries the "Fire Lands" and adjacent islands, and ordered an election to be held at Warren, its county seat, on the second Tuesday of October. At that election forty-two votes were cast, of which General Edward Paine received thirty-eight, and was thus elected a member of the Territorial Legislature. All the early deeds on the Reserve are preserved in the records of Trumbull County.

A treaty was held at Fort Industry on the 4th of July, 1805, between the Commissioners of the Connecticut Land Company and the Indians, by which all the lands in the Reserve west of the Cuyahoga, belonging to the Indians, were ceded to the Connecticut Company.

Geauga was the second county of the Reserve. It was created by an act of the Legislature, Dec. 31, 1805; and by a subsequent act its boundaries were made to include the present territory of Cuyahoga County as far west as the Fourteenth Range.

Portage County was established on the 10th of February, 1807; and on the 16th of June, 1810, the act establishing Cuyahoga County went into operation. By that act all of Geauga west of the Ninth Range was made a part of Cuyahoga County.

Ashtabula County was established on the 22d of January, 1811.

A considerable number of Indians remained on the Western Reserve until the breaking out of the War of 1812. Most of the Canadian tribes took up arms against the United States in that struggle, and a portion of the Indians of the Western Reserve joined their Canadian brethren. At the close of that war occasional bands of these Indians returned to their old haunts on the Cuyahoga and the Mahoning; but the inhabitants of the Reserve soon made them understand that they were unwelcome visitors after the part they had taken against us. Thus the War of 1812 substantially cleared the Reserve of its Indian inhabitants.

In this brief survey I have attempted to indicate the general character of the leading events connected with the discovery and settlement of our country. I cannot, on this occasion, further pursue the history of the settlement and building up of the counties and townships of the Western Reserve.

I have already noticed the peculiar character of the people who converted this wilderness into the land of happy homes which we now behold on every hand. But I desire to call the attention of the young men and women who hear me to the duty they owe to themselves and their ancestors to study carefully and reverently the history of the great work which has been accomplished in this New Connecticut.

The pioneers who first broke ground here accomplished a work unlike that which will fall to the lot of any succeeding generation. The hardships they endured, the obstacles they encountered, the life they led, the peculiar qualities they needed in their undertakings, and the traits of character developed by their works stand alone in our history. The generation that knew these first pioneers is fast passing away. But there are sitting in this audience to-day a few men and women whose memories date back to the early settlement. Here sits a gentleman near me who is older than the Western Reserve. He remembers a time when the axe of the Connecticut pioneer had never awakened the echoes of the wilderness here. How strange and wonderful a transformation has taken place since he was a child! It is our sacred duty to rescue from oblivion the stirring recollections of such men, and preserve them as memorials of the past, as lessons for our own inspiration and the instruction of those who shall come after us.

The materials for a history of this Reserve are rich and abundant. Its pioneers were not ignorant and thoughtless adventurers, but men of established character, whose opinions on civil and religious liberty had grown with their growth and become the settled convictions of their maturer years. Both here and in Connecticut the family records, journals, and letters, which are preserved in hundreds of families, if brought out and arranged in order, would throw a flood of light on every page of our history. Even the brief notice which informed the citizens of this county that a meeting was to be held here to-day to organize a Pioneer Society has called this great audience together, and they have brought with them many rich historical memorials. They have brought old colonial commissions given to early Connecticut soldiers of the Revolution, who became pioneers of the Reserve and whose children are here to-day. They have brought church and other records which date back to the beginning of these settlements. They have shown us implements of industry which the pioneers brought in with them, many of which have been superseded by the superior mechanical contrivances of our time. Some of these imple-

ments are symbols of the spirit and character of the pioneers of the Reserve. Here is a broad-axe brought from Connecticut by John Ford, father of the late governor of Ohio; and we are told that the first work done with this axe by that sturdy old pioneer, after he had finished a few cabins for the families that came with him, was to hew out the timbers for an academy, the Burton Academy, to which so many of our older men owe the foundation of their education, and from which sprang the Western Reserve College.

These pioneers knew well that the three great forces which constitute the strength and glory of a free government are the family, the school, and the church. These three they planted here, and they nourished and cherished them with an energy and devotion scarcely equalled in any other quarter of the world. On this height were planted in the wilderness the symbols of this trinity of powers; and here, let us hope, may be maintained forever the ancient faith of our fathers in the sanctity of the home, the intelligence of the school, and the faithfulness of the church. Where these three combine in prosperous union, the safety and prosperity of the nation are assured. The glory of our country can never be dimmed while these three lights are kept shining with an undimmed lustre.

The best single work on the North-west Territory is Hinsdale's *The Old North-west*. See the histories of Ohio and Indiana in the "American Commonwealths" Series, and Hildreth's *Pioneer History*. The chapter on Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions, by Justin Winsor and Edward Channing, in the appendix to Vol. VII. of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, contains very much that is valuable upon this subject. There is a *History of the Western Reserve*, by W. S. Kennedy; and Harvey Rice's *Sketches of Western Reserve Life* should be read in connection. Whittlesey's *Early History of Cleveland* is a scholarly and thorough work, covering in great part the general early history of the Reserve. The Western Reserve Historical Society at Cleveland has published many valuable tracts relating to the history of the Reserve. General Garfield's address, given in the present leaflet, was originally published in this series. See the lives of Garfield, Benjamin F. Wade, and Joshua R. Giddings for the noble part taken by the Western Reserve in the anti-slavery conflict.

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 5.

The Capture of Vincennes.

1779.

BY GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

From General Clark's Memoirs.

"Everything being ready, on the 5th of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from the priest, we crossed the Kaskaskia River with one hundred and seventy men, marched about three miles and encamped, where we lay until the [7th], and set out. The weather wet (but fortunately not cold for the season) and a great part of the plains under water several inches deep. It was difficult and very fatiguing marching. My object was now to keep the men in spirits. I suffered them to shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers, each company by turns inviting the others to their feasts, which was the case every night, as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat in the course of the day, myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through the mud and water as any of them. Thus, insensibly, without a murmur, were those men led on to the banks of the Little Wabash, which we reached on the 13th, through incredible difficulties, far surpassing anything that any of us had ever experienced. Frequently the diversions of the night wore off the thoughts of the preceding day. We formed a camp on a height which we found on the bank of the river, and suffered our troops to amuse themselves. I viewed this sheet of water for some time with distrust; but, accusing myself of doubting, I immediately set to work, without holding any consultation about it, or suffering anybody else to do so in my presence; ordered a pirogue to be built immediately, and acted as though crossing the water would be only a piece of diversion. As but few could work at the pirogue at a time, pains were taken to find diversion for the rest to keep them in high spirits. . . .

In the evening of the 14th, our vessel was finished, manned, and sent to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side of the Little Wabash, with private instructions what report to make, and, if possible, to find some spot of dry land. They found about half an acre, and marked the trees from thence back to the camp, and made a very favorable report.

"Fortunately, the 15th happened to be a warm, moist day for the season. The channel of the river where we lay was about thirty yards wide. A scaffold was built on the opposite shore (which was about three feet under water), and our baggage ferried across, and put on it. Our horses swam across, and received their loads at the scaffold, by which time the troops were also brought across, and we began our march through the water. . . .

"By evening we found ourselves encamped on a pretty height, in high spirits, each party laughing at the other, in consequence of something that had happened in the course of this ferrying business, as they called it. A little antic drummer afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum, etc. All this was greatly encouraged; and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress. Their whole conversation now was concerning what they would do when they got about the enemy. They now began to view the main Wabash as a creek, and made no doubt but such men as they were could find a way to cross it. They wound themselves up to such a pitch that they soon took Post Vincennes, divided the spoil, and before bedtime were far advanced on their route to Detroit. All this was, no doubt, pleasing to those of us who had more serious thoughts. . . . We were now convinced that the whole of the low country on the Wabash was drowned, and that the enemy could easily get to us, if they discovered us, and wished to risk an action; if they did not, we made no doubt of crossing the river by some means or other. Even if Captain Rogers, with our galley, did not get to his station agreeable to his appointment, we flattered ourselves that all would be well, and marched on in high spirits. . . .

"The last day's march through the water was far superior to anything the Frenchmen had an idea of. They were backward in speaking; said that the nearest land to us was a small league called the Sugar Camp, on the bank of the [river?] A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water; found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men

transported on board the canoes to the Sugar Camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes. The loss of so much time, to men half-starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal for a day's provision or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops, giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers. The whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute, whispered to those near me to do as I did: immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, and marched into the water without saying a word. The party gazed, and fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to begin a favorite song of theirs. It soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but, when about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so, and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and, by taking pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar Camp without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodging. The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night. They said that they would bring from their own houses provisions, without a possibility of any persons knowing it; that some of our men should go with them as a surety of their good conduct; that it was impossible we could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the [officers?] believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself or anybody else why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute and of so much advantage; but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done, and it was not done.

"The most of the weather that we had on this march was moist and warm for the season. This was the coldest night we had. The ice, in the morning, was from one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick near the shores and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little

after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget, but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time. I concluded by informing them that passing the plain that was then in full view and reaching the opposite woods would put an end to their fatigue, that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long-wished-for object, and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted, and called to Major Bowman, ordering him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and put to death any man who refused to march, as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself, and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and, as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backward and forward with all diligence, and pick up the men; and, to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow, and when getting near the woods to cry out, 'Land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities; the weak holding by the stronger. . . . The water never got shallower, but continued deepening. Getting to the woods, where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders; but gaining the woods was of great consequence. All the low men and the weakly hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore, and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground of about ten acres. We soon found that the fires answered no purpose, but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him; and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But, fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to town, and took through part of this plain as a nigh way. It was

discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase, and took the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of a buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, etc. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made, and served out to the most weakly with great care. Most of the whole got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather by the afternoon gave new life to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles' distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered anything, saying that all that had passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear; and that a soldier had no right to think, etc.,— passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within a half mile of us, and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner in such a manner as not to alarm the others, which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river, except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there were a good many Indians in town.

"Our situation was now truly critical,— no possibility of retreating in case of defeat, and in full view of a town that had, at this time, upward of six hundred men in it,— troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would have been now a re-enforcement of immense magnitude to our little army (if I may so call it), but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would insure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well, that many were lukewarm to the interest of either, and I also learned that the grand chief, the Tobacco's

son, had but a few days before openly declared, in council with the British, that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knives. These were favorable circumstances; and, as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants: —

"'To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes:

"'*Gentlemen*,— Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you to remain still in your houses; and those, if any there be, that are friends to the king will instantly repair to the fort, and join the hair-buyer general, and fight like men. And, if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterward, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy.

"'(Signed) G. R. CLARK.'

"I had various ideas on the supposed results of this letter. I knew that it could do us no damage, but that it would cause the lukewarm to be decided, encourage our friends, and astonish our enemies. . . . We anxiously viewed this messenger until he entered the town, and in a few minutes could discover by our glasses some stir in every street that we could penetrate into, and great numbers running or riding out into the commons, we supposed, to view us, which was the case. But what surprised us was that nothing had yet happened that had the appearance of the garrison being alarmed,— no drum nor gun. We began to suppose that the information we got from our prisoners was false, and that the enemy already knew of us, and were prepared. . . . A little before sunset we moved, and displayed ourselves in full view of the town, crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction or success. There was no midway thought of. We had but little to say to our men, except inculcating an idea of the necessity of obedience, etc. We knew they did not want encouraging, and that anything might be attempted with them that was possible for such a number,— perfectly cool, under

proper subordination, pleased with the prospect before them, and much attached to their officers. They all declared that they were convinced that an implicit obedience to orders was the only thing that would insure success, and hoped that no mercy would be shown the person that should violate them. Such language as this from soldiers to persons in our station must have been exceedingly agreeable. We moved on slowly in full view of the town; but, as it was a point of some consequence to us to make ourselves appear as formidable, we, in leaving the covert that we were in, marched and countermarched in such a manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business had a set of colors given him, which they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pairs. These were displayed to the best advantage; and, as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent risings in it seven or eight feet higher than the common level (which was covered with water), and as these risings generally run in an oblique direction to the town, we took the advantage of one of them, marching through the water under it, which completely prevented our being numbered. But our colors showed considerably above the heights, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance; and, as our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on the Warrior's Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers with their horses, officers were mounted on these horses, and rode about, more completely to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved, and directed our march in such a way as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half-way to the town. We then suddenly altered our direction, and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town. As there was yet no hostile appearance, we were impatient to have the cause unriddled. Lieutenant Bayley was ordered, with fourteen men, to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction, and took possession of the strongest part of the town.

"The firing now commenced on the fort, but they did not believe it was an enemy until one of their men was shot down through a port, as drunken Indians frequently saluted the fort after night. The drums now sounded, and the business fairly commenced on both sides. Re-enforcements were sent to the attack of the garrison, while other arrangements were making in town. . . . We now found that the garrison had known

nothing of us; that, having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves at different games, and had just retired before my letter arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of the houses for fear of giving offence, and not one dare give information. Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight. This was observed from the garrison, and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse was given; and, as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. Captain W. Shannon and another being some time before taken prisoners by one of their [scouting parties], and that evening brought in, the party had discovered at the Sugar Camp some signs of us. They supposed it to be a party of observation that intended to land on the height some distance below the town. Captain Lamotte was sent to intercept them. It was at him the people said they were looking, when they were asked the reason of their unusual stir. Several suspected persons had been taken to the garrison; among them was Mr. Moses Henry. Mrs. Henry went, under the pretense of carrying him provisions, and whispered him the news and what she had seen. Mr. Henry conveyed it to the rest of his fellow-prisoners, which gave them much pleasure, particularly Captain Helm, who amused himself very much during the siege, and, I believe, did much damage.

"Ammunition was scarce with us, as the most of our stores had been put on board of the galley. Though her crew was but few, such a re-enforcement to us at this time would have been invaluable in many instances. But, fortunately, at the time of its being reported that the whole of the goods in the town were to be taken for the king's use (for which the owners were to receive bills), Colonel Legras, Major Bosseron, and others had buried the greatest part of their powder and ball. This was immediately produced, and we found ourselves well supplied by those gentlemen.

"The Tobacco's son, being in town with a number of warriors, immediately mustered them, and let us know that he wished to join us, saying that by the morning he would have a hundred men. He received for answer that we thanked him for his friendly disposition; and, as we were sufficiently strong ourselves, we wished him to desist, and that we would counsel on the subject in the morning; and, as we knew that there were a number of Indians in and near the town that were our

enemies, some confusion might happen if our men should mix in the dark, but hoped that we might be favored with his counsel and company during the night, which was agreeable to him.

"The garrison was soon completely surrounded, and the firing continued without intermission (except about fifteen minutes a little before day) until about nine o'clock the following morning. It was kept up by the whole of the troops, joined by a few of the young men of the town, who got permission, except fifty men kept as a reserve. . . . I had made myself fully acquainted with the situation of the fort and town and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong blockhouses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface, and the ports so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the walls. They did no damage, except to the buildings of the town, some of which they much shattered; and their musketry, in the dark, employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings, ditches, the banks of the river, etc., was but of little avail, and did no injury to us except wounding a man or two. As we could not afford to lose men, great care was taken to preserve them sufficiently covered, and to keep up a hot fire in order to intimidate the enemy as well as to destroy them. The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour in such volleys when they were opened that the men could not stand to the guns. Seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. Our troops would frequently abuse the enemy, in order to aggravate them to open their ports and fire their cannon, that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down with their rifles, fifty of which, perhaps, would be levelled the moment the port flew open; and I believe that, if they had stood at their artillery, the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night, as the greater part of our men lay within thirty yards of the walls, and in a few hours were covered equally to those within the walls, and much more experienced in that mode of fighting. . . . Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible, was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement, and as if those continually firing at the

fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison constantly alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or [blown up?], as they could plainly discover that we had flung up some entrenchments across the streets, and appeared to be frequently very busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls. The situation of the magazine we knew well. Captain Bowman began some works in order to blow it up, in case our artillery should arrive; but, as we knew that we were daily liable to be overpowered by the numerous bands of Indians on the river, in case they had again joined the enemy (the certainty of which we were unacquainted with), we resolved to lose no time, but to get the fort in our possession as soon as possible. If the vessel did not arrive before the ensuing night, we resolved to undermine the fort, and fixed on the spot and plan of executing this work, which we intended to commence the next day.

"The Indians of different tribes that were inimical had left the town and neighborhood. Captain Lamotte continued to hover about it, in order, if possible, to make his way good into the fort. Parties attempted in vain to surprise him. A few of his party were taken, one of which was Maisonville, a famous Indian partisan. Two lads that captured him tied him to a post in the street, and fought from behind him as a breastwork, supposing that the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice. The lads were ordered, by an officer who discovered them at their amusement, to untie their prisoner, and take him off to the guard, which they did, but were so inhuman as to take part of his scalp on the way. There happened to him no other damage. As almost the whole of the persons who were most active in the department of Detroit were either in the fort or with Captain Lamotte, I got extremely uneasy for fear that he would not fall into our power, knowing that he would go off, if he could not get into the fort in the course of the night. Finding that, without some unforeseen accident, the fort must inevitably be ours, and that a re-enforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some deliberation, we concluded to risk the re-enforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians. The garrison had at least a month's provisions; and, if they could hold out, in the course of that time he might do us

much damage. A little before day the troops were withdrawn from their positions about the fort, except a few parties of observation, and the firing totally ceased. Orders were given, in case of Lamotte's approach, not to alarm or fire on him without a certainty of killing or taking the whole. In less than a quarter of an hour, he passed within ten feet of an officer and a party that lay concealed. Ladders were flung over to them; and, as they mounted them, our party shouted. Many of them fell from the top of the walls,— some within, and others back; but, as they were not fired on, they all got over, much to the joy of their friends. But, on considering the matter, they must have been convinced that it was a scheme of ours to let them in, and that we were so strong as to care but little about them or the manner of their getting into the garrison. . . . The firing immediately commenced on both sides with double vigor; and I believe that more noise could not have been made by the same number of men. Their shouts could not be heard for the firearms; but a continual blaze was kept around the garrison, without much being done, until about daybreak, when our troops were drawn off to posts prepared for them, about sixty or seventy yards from the fort. A loophole then could scarcely be darkened but a rifle-ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men, without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it.

"Thus the attack continued until about nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners they had brought in the day before had a considerable number of letters with them, I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and, not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers might be destroyed, to prevent which I sent a flag [with a letter] demanding the garrison."

The following is a copy of the letter which was addressed by Colonel Clark to Lieutenant-governor Hamilton on this occasion: —

"*Sir*,— In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender

yourself, with all your garrison, stores, etc. For, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town; for, by heavens! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

"(Signed) G. R. CLARK."

The British commandant immediately returned the following answer: —

"Lieutenant-governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Colonel Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects."

"The firing then," says Clark, "commenced warmly for a considerable time; and we were obliged to be careful in preventing our men from exposing themselves too much, as they were now much animated, having been refreshed during the flag. They frequently mentioned their wishes to storm the place, and put an end to the business at once. . . . The firing was heavy through every crack that could be discovered in any part of the fort. Several of the garrison got wounded, and no possibility of standing near the embrasures. Toward the evening a flag appeared with the following proposals: —

"'Lieutenant-governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe, on his part, a like cessation of any defensive work,— that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be, and promises that whatever may pass between them two and another person mutually agreed upon to be present shall remain secret till matters be finished, as he wishes that, whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant-governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

"'(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON.

"'24TH FEBRUARY, 1779.'

"I was at a great loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant-governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days on such terms as he proposed. Numbers said it was a

scheme to get me into their possession. I had a different opinion and no idea of his possessing such sentiments, as an act of that kind would infallibly ruin him. Although we had the greatest reason to expect a re-enforcement in less than three days, that would at once put an end to the siege, I yet did not think it prudent to agree to the proposals, and sent the following answer: —

"'Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant-governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark, he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm.

"'(Signed) G. R. C.

"'February 24th, 1779.'

"We met at the church, about eighty yards from the fort, Lieutenant-governor Hamilton, Major Hay, superintendent of Indian affairs, Captain Helm, their prisoner, Major Bowman, and myself. The conference began. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, signed, that contained various articles, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on their being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on every article, I rejected the whole. He then wished that I would make some proposition. I told him that I had no other to make than what I had already made,— that of his surrendering as prisoners at discretion. I said that his troops had behaved with spirit; that they could not suppose that they would be worse treated in consequence of it; that, if he chose to comply with the demand, though hard, perhaps the sooner the better; that it was in vain to make any proposition to me; that he, by this time, must be sensible that the garrison would fall; that both of us must [view?] all blood spilt for the future by the garrison as murder; that my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort. If such a step was taken, many, of course, would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him. It would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man. Various altercation took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner; and it was doubtful

whether or not he could, with propriety, speak on the subject. Hamilton then said that Captain Helm was from that moment liberated, and might use his pleasure. I informed the Captain that I would not receive him on such terms; that he must return to the garrison, and await his fate. I then told Lieutenant-governor Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums gave the alarm. We took our leave, and parted but a few steps, when Hamilton stopped, and politely asked me if I would be so kind as to give him my reasons for refusing the garrison any other terms than those I had offered. I told him I had no objections in giving him my real reasons, which were simply these: that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him; that I wanted an excuse to put them to death or otherwise treat them as I thought proper; that the cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now required their blood from my hand; and that I did not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I looked upon to be next to divine; that I would rather lose fifty men than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety; that, if he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes, it was his own pleasure; and that I might, perhaps, take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed. Major Hay paying great attention, I had observed a kind of distrust in his countenance, which in a great measure influenced my conversation during this time. On my concluding, 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partisans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal.' I never saw a man in the moment of execution so struck as he appeared to be,— pale and trembling, scarcely able to stand. Hamilton blushed, and, I observed, was much affected at his behavior. Major Bowman's countenance sufficiently explained his disdain for the one and his sorrow for the other. . . . Some moments elapsed without a word passing on either side. From that moment my resolutions changed respecting Hamilton's situation. I told him that we would return to our respective posts; that I would reconsider the matter, and let him know the result. No offensive measures should be taken in the meantime. Agreed to; and we parted. What had passed being made known to our officers, it was agreed that we should moderate our resolutions."

In the course of the afternoon of the 24th the following articles were signed, and the garrison capitulated:—

"I. Lieutenant-governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville, as it is at present, with all the stores, etc.

"II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accouterments, etc.

"III. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

"IV. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

"V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

"Signed at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes] 24th of February, 1779.

"Agreed for the following reasons: the remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

"(Signed) HENRY HAMILTON,

"*Lieut-gov. and Superintendent.*"

"The business being now nearly at an end, troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison and patroled during the night to prevent any deception that might be attempted. The remainder on duty lay on their arms, and for the first time for many days past got some rest. . . . During the siege, I got only one man wounded. Not being able to lose many, I made them secure themselves well. Seven were badly wounded in the fort through ports. . . . Almost every man had conceived a favorable opinion of Lieutenant-governor Hamilton,— I believe what affected myself made some impression on the whole; and I was happy to find that he never deviated, while he stayed with us, from that dignity of conduct that became an officer in his situation. The morning of the 25th approaching, arrangements were made for receiving the garrison [which consisted of seventy-nine men], and about ten o'clock it was delivered in form; and everything was immediately arranged to the best advantage."

The conquest of the country north of the Ohio River by George Rogers Clark in 1778–9 was one of the most heroic episodes of the period of the Revolution, and one of the most important in its consequences. It was because, owing to this conquest, the country between the Ohio and the

Mississippi was actually held by us, under military and civil rule, at the close of the war, that it was possible for us to secure, in the Treaty of Paris, the concession of the Mississippi instead of the Ohio as our western boundary. It has been properly said that, "with respect to the magnitude of its design, the valor and perseverance with which it was carried, and the momentous results which were produced by it, Clark's expedition stands without a parallel in the early annals of the valley of the Mississippi."

Clark was a young Virginian who had settled in Kentucky in 1775, had secured the organization of Kentucky as a county of Virginia, and been the leader in the defence of the frontier. The Kentucky and Illinois country suffered greatly during the early years of the war from Indian depredations. Clark saw clearly that the sources of these depredations were the British posts of Detroit, Vincennes on the Wabash, and Kaskaskia on the Mississippi; and he went to Virginia and laid before Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, a scheme for the conquest of the North-west, the boldness of which at once enlisted the interest and co-operation of Henry, Jefferson, and other influential men. With his little army of one hundred and fifty men, he surprised and captured Kaskaskia on the night of July 4, 1778, did much by wise diplomacy to attach the French and Indians to the American cause, and in February, 1779, marched upon Vincennes. The hardships of that march of one hundred and sixty-six miles were almost incredible. In that great era of brave deeds there was no braver deed than this. A portion of Clark's own account of the march and the capture of Vincennes, taken from his Memoirs, composed at the special request of Jefferson and Madison, is given in the present leaflet. The weakness of his force alone prevented Clark from moving on Detroit. The county of Illinois was established by the General Assembly of Virginia, covering all the territory; and this remained under the actual control of Virginia at the close of the war and when the Treaty of Paris was under consideration. "The arms of Clark had settled the question of possession and civil as well as military rule of this great territory, which now holds so many millions of people. These prominent facts were before the British minister and before the world. He could not say that this part of the land was in the power of England any more than Virginia herself was after the battle of Yorktown, and he was too accurate a jurist to yield to any claim of Spain or to hear the objections of France."

The last years of this great man's life were spent in solitude and poverty near Louisville. He felt keenly the ingratitude of the republic; and, when late in his life the State of Virginia sent him a sword, he exclaimed to the committee: "When Virginia needed a sword, I gave her one. She sends me now a toy. I want bread!"—thrust the sword into the ground, and broke it with his crutch.

John Reynolds called George Rogers Clark "the Washington of the West," and John Randolph styled him "the Hannibal of the West." See chapter entitled "The Hannibal of the West," in Dunn's *Indiana*, in the "American Commonwealths" series, for the best brief account of Clark's exploits. W. F. Poole's chapter on "The West," in the sixth volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, contains an invaluable mass of material concerning Clark and his work. A good biography of Clark is a desideratum. The memoirs, from which the present leaflet is taken, are printed in Dillon's History of Indiana. A letter from Clark to George Mason, covering his Vincennes campaign, has been published under the title of *Clark's Campaign in the Illinois* (Cincinnati, 1869).

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 6.

Captain Meriwether Lewis.

By Thomas Jefferson.

Monticello, Aug. 18, 1813.

Sir,— In compliance with the request conveyed in your letter of May 25, I have endeavoured to obtain, from the relations and friends of the late Governor Lewis, information of such incidents of his life as might be not unacceptable to those who may read the narrative of his western discoveries. The ordinary occurrences of a private life, and those, also, while acting in a subordinate sphere in the army in a time of peace, are not deemed sufficiently interesting to occupy the public attention; but a general account of his parentage, with such smaller incidents as marked his early character, are briefly noted, and to these are added, as being peculiarly within my own knowledge, whatever related to the public mission, of which an account is now to be published. The result of my inquiries and recollections shall now be offered, to be enlarged or abridged as you may think best, or otherwise to be used with the materials you may have collected from other sources.

Meriwether Lewis, late governor of Louisiana, was born on the eighteenth of August, 1774, near the town of Charlottesville, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, of one of the distinguished families of that state. John Lewis, one of his father's uncles, was a member of the king's council before the revolution. Another of them, Fielding Lewis, married a sister of General Washington. His father, William Lewis, was the youngest of five sons of Colonel Robert Lewis, of Albemarle, the fourth of whom, Charles, was one of the early patriots who stepped forward in the commencement of

the revolution, and commanded one of the regiments first raised in Virginia, and placed on continental establishment. Happily situated at home, with a wife and young family, and a fortune placing him at ease, he left all to aid in the liberation of his country from foreign usurpations, then first unmasking their ultimate end and aim. His good sense, integrity, bravery, enterprise, and remarkable bodily powers marked him as an officer of great promise; but he unfortunately died early in the revolution. Nicholas Lewis, the second of his father's brothers, commanded a regiment of militia in the successful expedition of 1776 against the Cherokee Indians, who, seduced by the agents of the British government to take up the hatchet against us, had committed great havoc on our southern frontier by murdering and scalping helpless women and children, according to their cruel and cowardly principles of warfare. The chastisement they then received closed the history of their wars, and prepared them for receiving the elements of civilization, which, zealously inculcated by the present government of the United States, have rendered them an industrious, peaceable, and happy people. This member of the family of Lewises, whose bravery was so usefully proved on this occasion, was endeared to all who knew him by his inflexible probity, courteous disposition, benevolent heart, and engaging modesty and manners. He was the umpire of all the private differences of his county,—selected always by both parties. He was also the guardian of Meriwether Lewis, of whom we are now to speak, and who had lost his father at an early age. He continued some years under the fostering care of a tender mother of the respectable family of Meriwethers of the same county, and was remarkable even in infancy for enterprise, boldness, and discretion. When only eight years of age, he habitually went out, in the dead of night, alone with his dogs, into the forest, to hunt the raccoon and opossum, which, seeking their food in the night, can then only be taken. In this exercise, no season or circumstance could obstruct his purpose,—plunging through the winter's snows and frozen streams in pursuit of his object. At thirteen he was put to the Latin school, and continued at that until eighteen, when he returned to his mother, and entered on the cares of his farm, having, as well as a younger brother, been left by his father with a competency for all the correct and comfortable purposes of temperate life. His talent for observation, which had led him to an accurate knowledge of the plants and animals of his own country, would have distinguished him

as a farmer; but, at the age of twenty, yielding to the ardour of youth and a passion for more dazzling pursuits, he engaged as a volunteer in the body of militia which were called out by General Washington on occasion of the discontents produced by the excise taxes in the western parts of the United States, and from that situation he was removed to the regular service as a lieutenant in the line. At twenty-three he was promoted to a captaincy; and, always attracting the first attention where punctuality and fidelity were requisite, he was appointed paymaster to his regiment. About this time a circumstance occurred which, leading to the transaction which is the subject of this book, will justify a recurrence to its original idea. While I resided in Paris, John Ledyard, of Connecticut, arrived there, well known in the United States for energy of body and mind. He had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage to the Pacific ocean, and distinguished himself on that voyage by his intrepidity. Being of a roaming disposition, he was now panting for some new enterprise. His immediate object at Paris was to engage a mercantile company in the fur-trade of the western coast of America, in which, however, he failed. I then proposed to him to go by land to Kamschatka, cross in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, fall down into the latitude of the Missouri, and penetrate to, and through, that to the United States. He eagerly seized the idea, and only asked to be assured of the permission of the Russian government. I interested in obtaining that M. de Simoulin, minister plenipotentiary of the empress at Paris, but more especially the Baron de Grimm, minister plenipotentiary of Saxe-Gotha, her more special agent and correspondent there in matters not immediately diplomatic. Her permission was obtained, and an assurance of protection while the course of the voyage should be through her territories. Ledyard set out from Paris, and arrived at St. Petersburgh after the empress had left that place to pass the winter, I think, at Moscow. His finances not permitting him to make unnecessary stay at St. Petersburgh, he left it with a passport from one of the ministers, and at two hundred miles from Kamschatka was obliged to take up his winter quarters. He was preparing, in the spring, to resume his journey, when he was arrested by an officer of the empress, who by this time had changed her mind, and forbidden his proceeding. He was put into a close carriage, and conveyed day and night, without ever stopping, till they reached Poland, where he was set down and left to himself. The fatigue of this journey broke down his constitution;

and, when he returned to Paris, his bodily strength was much impaired. His mind, however, remained firm: and he after this undertook the journey to Egypt. I received a letter from him, full of sanguine hopes, dated at Cairo, the fifteenth of November, 1788, the day before he was to set out for the head of the Nile, on which day, however, he ended his career and life; and thus failed the first attempt to explore the western part of our northern continent.

In 1792 I proposed to the American Philosophical Society that we should set on foot a subscription to engage some competent person to explore that region in the opposite direction; that is, by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific. Captain Lewis, being then stationed at Charlottesville, on the recruiting service, warmly solicited me to obtain for him the execution of that object. I told him it was proposed that the person engaged should be attended by a single companion only, to avoid exciting alarm among the Indians. This did not deter him: but Mr. Andre Michaux, a professed botanist, author of the Flora Boreali-Americana, and of the Histoire des Chesnes d'Amerique, offering his services, they were accepted. He received his instructions; and, when he had reached Kentucky in the prosecution of his journey, he was overtaken by an order from the minister of France, then at Philadelphia, to relinquish the expedition, and to pursue elsewhere the botanical inquiries on which he was employed by that government; and thus failed the second attempt for exploring that region.

In 1803 the act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes being about to expire, some modifications of it were recommended to congress by a confidential message of January 18th, and an extension of its views to the Indians on the Missouri. In order to prepare the way, the message proposed the sending an exploring party to trace the Missouri to its source, to cross the Highlands, and follow the best water-communication which offered itself from thence to the Pacific ocean. Congress approved the proposition, and voted a sum of money for carrying it into execution. Captain Lewis, who had then been near two years with me as private secretary, immediately renewed his solicitations to have the direction of the party. I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those

committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves,— with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him. To fill up the measure desired, he wanted nothing but a greater familiarity with the technical language of the natural sciences and readiness in the astronomical observations necessary for the geography of his route. To acquire these he repaired immediately to Philadelphia, and placed himself under the tutorage of the distinguished professors of that place, who, with a zeal and emulation enkindled by an ardent devotion to science, communicated to him freely the information requisite for the purposes of the journey. While attending, too, at Lancaster, the fabrication of the arms with which he chose that his men should be provided, he had the benefit of daily communication with Mr. Andrew Ellicot, whose experience in astronomical observation, and practice of it in the woods, enabled him to apprise captain Lewis of the wants and difficulties he would encounter, and of the substitutes and resources offered by a woodland and uninhabited country.

Deeming it necessary he should have some person with him of known competence to the direction of the enterprise, in the event of accident to himself, he proposed William Clarke, brother of general George Rogers Clarke, who was approved, and, with that view, received a commission of captain.

In April, 1803, a draught of his instructions was sent to captain Lewis, and on the twentieth of June they were signed in the following form:

"To Meriwether Lewis, esquire, captain of the first regiment of infantry of the United States of America:

"Your situation as secretary of the president of the United States has made you acquainted with the objects of my confidential message of January 18, 1803, to the legislature; you have seen the act they passed, which, though expressed in general terms, was meant to sanction those objects, and you are appointed to carry them into execution.

"Instruments for ascertaining, by celestial observations, the geography of the country through which you will pass have been already provided. Light articles for barter and presents among the Indians, arms for your attendants, say for from ten to twelve men, boats, tents, and other travelling apparatus, with ammunition, medicine, surgical instruments, and provisions, you will have prepared, with such aids as the secretary at war can yield in his department; and from him also you will receive authority to engage among our troops, by voluntary agreement, the number of attendants abovementioned, over whom you, as their commanding officer, are invested with all the powers the laws give in such a case.

"As your movements while within the limits of the United States will be better directed by occasional communications, adapted to circumstances as they arise, they will not be noticed here. What follows will respect your proceedings after your departure from the United States.

"Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain, and Great Britain, and through them to their governments, and such assurances given them as to its objects as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet.

"The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, and such principal streams of it as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregan, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practicable water-communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce.

"Beginning at the mouth of the Missouri, you will take observations of latitude and longitude at all remarkable points on the river, and especially at the mouths of rivers, at rapids, at islands, and other places and objects distinguished by such natural marks and characters, of a durable kind, as that they may with certainty be recognized hereafter. The courses of the river between these points of observation may be supplied by the compass, the log-line, and by time, corrected by the observations themselves. The variations of the needle, too, in different places should be noticed.

"The interesting points of the portage between the heads

of the Missouri, and of the water offering the best communication with the Pacific ocean, should also be fixed by observation, and the course of that water to the ocean in the same manner as that of the Missouri.

"Your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy; to be entered distinctly and intelligibly for others as well as yourself; to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables, to fix the latitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken; and are to be rendered to the war-office, for the purpose of having the calculations made concurrently by proper persons within the United States. Several copies of these, as well as of your other notes, should be made at leisure times, and put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. A further guard would be that one of these copies be on the cuticular membranes of the paper-birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.

"The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue renders a knowledge of those people important. You will therefore endeavour to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit, with the names of the nations and their numbers;

"The extent and limits of their possessions;

"Their relations with other tribes or nations;

"Their language, traditions, monuments;

"Their ordinary occupations in agriculture, fishing, hunting, war, arts, and the implements for these;

"Their food, clothing, and domestic accommodations;

"The diseases prevalent among them, and the remedies they use;

"Moral and physical circumstances which distinguish them from the tribes we know;

"Peculiarities in their laws, customs, and dispositions;

"And articles of commerce they may need or furnish, and to what extent.

"And, considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion, and information among them, as it may better enable those who may endeavour to civilize and instruct them to adapt their measures to the existing notions and practices of those on whom they are to operate.

"Other objects worthy of notice will be —

"The soil and face of the country, its growth and vegetable productions, especially those not of the United States;

"The animals of the country generally, and epecially those not known in the United States;

"The remains and accounts of any which may be deemed rare or extinct;

"The mineral productions of every kind, but more particularly metals, lime-stone, pit-coal, and saltpetre, salines and mineral waters, noting the temperature of the last, and such circumstances as may indicate their character;

"Volcanic appearances;

"Climate as characterized by the thermometer, by the proportion of rainy, cloudy, and clear days; by lightning, hail, snow, ice; by the access and recess of frost; by the winds prevailing at different seasons: the dates at which particular plants put forth or lose their flower or leaf; times of appearance of particular birds, reptiles, or insects.

"Although your route will be along the channel of the Missouri, yet you will endeavour to inform yourself, by inquiry, of the character and extent of the country watered by its branches, and especially on its southern side. The North river, or Rio Bravo, which runs into the gulf of Mexico, and the North river, or Rio Colorado, which runs into the gulf of California, are understood to be the principal streams heading opposite to the waters of the Missouri, and running southwardly. Whether the dividing grounds between the Missouri and them are mountains or flat lands, what are their distance from the Missouri, the character of the intermediate country, and the people inhabiting it, are worthy of particular inquiry. The northern waters of the Missouri are less to be inquired after, because they have been ascertained to a considerable degree, and are still in a course of ascertainment by English traders and travellers; but, if you can learn any thing certain of the most northern source of the Mississippi, and of its position relatively to the Lake of the Woods, it will be interesting to us. Some account, too, of the path of the Canadian traders from the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Ouisconsing to where it strikes the Missouri, and of the soil and rivers in its course, is desirable.

"In all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted

with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States, of our wish to be neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers on their entering the United States, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their young people brought up with us, and taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct, and take care of them. Such a mission, whether of influential chiefs or of young people, would give some security to your own party. Carry with you some matter of the kine-pox, inform those of them with whom you may be of its efficacy as a preservative from the small-pox, and instruct and encourage them in the use of it. This may be especially done wherever you winter.

"As it is impossible for us to foresee in what manner you will be received by those people, whether with hospitality or hostility, so is it impossible to prescribe the exact degree of perseverance with which you are to pursue your journey. We value too much the lives of citizens to offer them to probable destruction. Your numbers will be sufficient to secure you against the unauthorized opposition of individuals or of small parties; but, if a superior force, authorized or not authorized by a nation, should be arrayed against your further passage, and inflexibly determined to arrest it, you must decline its further pursuit and return. In the loss of yourselves we should lose also the information you will have acquired. By returning safely with that, you may enable us to renew the essay with better calculated means. To your own discretion, therefore, must be left the degree of danger you may risk and the point at which you should decline, only saying, we wish you to err on the side of your safety, and to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information.

"As far up the Missouri as the white settlements extend, an intercourse will probably be found to exist between them and the Spanish posts of St. Louis opposite Cahokia, or St. Genevieve opposite Kaskaskia. From still further up the river the traders may furnish a conveyance for letters. Beyond that you may perhaps be able to engage Indians to bring let-

ters for the government to Cahokia or Kaskaskia, on promising that they shall there receive such special compensation as you shall have stipulated with them. Avail yourself of these means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes, and observations of every kind, putting into cypher whatever might do injury if betrayed.

"Should you reach the Pacific ocean, inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado and Oregan or Columbia) as at Nootka Sound, or any other point of that coast; and that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri and United States more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised.

"On your arrival on that coast, endeavour to learn if there be any port within your reach frequented by the sea vessels of any nation, and to send two of your trusty people back by sea, in such way as shall appear practicable, with a copy of your notes; and should you be of opinion that the return of your party by the way they went will be imminently dangerous, then ship the whole, and return by sea, by the way either of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, as you shall be able. As you will be without money, clothes, or provisions, you must endeavour to use the credit of the United States to obtain them, for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you, authorizing you to draw on the executive of the United States, or any of its officers, in any part of the world, on which draughts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the consuls, agents, merchants, or citizens of any nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them, in our name, that any aids they may furnish you shall be honorably repaid, and on demand. Our consuls, Thomas Hewes, at Batavia, in Java, William Buchanan, in the Isles of France and Bourbon, and John Elmslie, at the Cape of Good Hope, will be able to supply your necessities by draughts on us.

"Should you find it safe to return by the way you go, after sending two of your party round by sea, or with your whole party, if no conveyance by sea can be found, do so, making such observations on your return as may serve to supply, correct, or confirm those made on your outward journey.

"On re-entering the United States and reaching a place of safety, discharge any of your attendants who may desire and deserve it, procuring for them immediate payment of all arrears of pay and clothing which may have incurred since their

departure, and assure them that they shall be recommended to the liberality of the legislature for the grant of a soldier's portion of land each, as proposed in my message to congress, and repair yourself, with your papers, to the seat of government.

"To provide, on the accident of your death, against anarchy, dispersion, and the consequent danger to your party, and total failure of the enterprise, you are hereby authorized, by any instrument signed and written in your own hand, to name the person among them who shall succeed to the command on your decease, and by like instruments to change the nomination, from time to time, as further experience of the characters accompanying you shall point out superior fitness; and all the powers and authorities given to yourself are, in the event of your death, transferred to, and vested in the successor so named, with further power to him and his successors, in like manner to name each his successor, who, on the death of his predecessor, shall be invested with all the powers and authorities given to yourself. Given under my hand at the city of Washington, this twentieth day of June, 1803.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON,
"*President of the United States of America.*"

While these things were going on here, the country of Louisiana, lately ceded by Spain to France, had been the subject of negociation at Paris between us and this last power, and had actually been transferred to us by treaties executed at Paris on the thirtieth of April. This information, received about the first day of July, increased infinitely the interest we felt in the expedition, and lessened the apprehensions of interruption from other powers. Every thing in this quarter being now prepared, Captain Lewis left Washington on the fifth of July, 1803, and proceeded to Pittsburg, where other articles had been ordered to be provided for him. The men, too, were to be selected from the military stations on the Ohio. Delays of preparation, difficulties of navigation down the Ohio, and other untoward obstructions, retarded his arrival at Cahokia until the season was so far advanced as to render it prudent to suspend his entering the Missouri before the ice should break up in the succeeding spring.

From this time his journal, now published, will give the history of his journey to and from the Pacific ocean, until his return to St. Louis on the twenty-third of September, 1806.

Never did a similar event excite more joy through the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked forward with impatience for the information it would furnish. Their anxieties, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumours, circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters or other direct information, from the time they had left the Mandan towns, on their ascent up the river in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis.

It was the middle of February, 1807, before Captain Lewis, with his companion Captain Clarke, reached the city of Washington, where congress was then in session. That body granted to the two chiefs and their followers the donation of lands which they had been encouraged to expect in reward of their toil and dangers. Captain Lewis was soon after appointed governor of Louisiana, and Captain Clarke a general of its militia, and agent of the United States for Indian affairs in that department.

A considerable time intervened before the governor's arrival at St. Louis. He found the territory distracted by feuds and contentions among the officers of the government, and the people themselves divided by these into factions and parties. He determined at once to take no side with either, but to use every endeavour to conciliate and harmonize them. The even-handed justice he administered to all soon established a respect for his person and authority; and perseverance and time wore down animosities, and reunited the citizens again into one family.

Governor Lewis had, from early life, been subject to hypochondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all the nearer branches of the family of his name, and was more immediately inherited by him from his father. They had not, however, been so strong as to give uneasiness to his family. While he lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind; but, knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family. During his western expedition the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body and mind suspended these distressing affections; but, after his establishment at St. Louis in sedentary occupations, they returned upon him with redoubled vigour, and began seriously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington.

He proceeded to the Chickasaw Bluffs, where he arrived on the sixteenth of September, 1809, with a view of continuing his journey thence by water. Mr. Neely, agent of the United States with the Chickasaw Indians, arriving there two days after, found him extremely indisposed, and betraying at times some symptoms of a derangement of mind. The rumours of a war with England, and apprehensions that he might lose the papers he was bringing on, among which were the vouchers of his public accounts, and the journals and papers of his western expedition, induced him here to change his mind, and to take his course by land through the Chickasaw country. Although he appeared somewhat relieved, Mr. Neely kindly determined to accompany and watch over him. Unfortunately, at their encampment, after having passed the Tennessee one day's journey, they lost two horses, which obliging Mr. Neely to halt for their recovery, the governor proceeded, under a promise to wait for him at the house of the first white inhabitant on his road. He stopped at the house of a Mr. Grinder, who not being at home, his wife, alarmed at the symptoms of derangement she discovered, gave him up the house, and retired to rest herself in an out-house, the governor's and Neely's servants lodging in another. About three o'clock in the night he did the deed which plunged his friends into affliction, and deprived his country of one of her most valued citizens, whose valour and intelligence would have been now employed in avenging the wrongs of his country, and in emulating by land the splendid deeds which have honoured her arms on the ocean. It lost, too, to the nation the benefit of receiving from his own hand the narrative now offered them of his sufferings and successes, in endeavouring to extend for them the boundaries of science, and to present to their knowledge that vast and fertile country which their sons are destined to fill with arts, with science, with freedom and happiness.

To this melancholy close of the life of one whom posterity will declare not to have lived in vain, I have only to add that all the facts I have stated are either known to myself or communicated by his family or others, for whose truth I have no hesitation to make myself responsible; and I conclude with tendering you the assurances of my respect and consideration.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr. PAUL ALLEN, Philadelphia.

LEWIS AND CLARKE AT THE SOURCES OF THE MISSOURI AND THE COLUMBIA.

Extract from their Journal.

Monday, August 12 [1805]. This morning as soon as it was light Captain Lewis sent Drewyer to reconnoitre, if possible, the route of the Indians. In about an hour and a half he returned, after following the tracks of the horse which we had lost yesterday to the mountains, where they ascended and were no longer visible. Captain Lewis now decided on making the circuit along the foot of the mountains which formed the cove, expecting by that means to find a road across them, and accordingly sent Drewyer on one side and Shields on the other. In this way they crossed four small rivulets near each other, on which were some bowers or conical lodges of willow brush, which seemed to have been made recently. From the manner in which the ground in the neighbourhood was torn up the Indians appeared to have been gathering roots; but Captain Lewis could not discover what particular plant they were searching for, nor could he find any fresh track till at the distance of four miles from his camp he met a large plain Indian road which came into the cove from the north-east, and wound along the foot of the mountains to the south-west, approaching obliquely the main stream he had left yesterday. Down this road he now went towards the south-west. At the distance of five miles it crossed a large run or creek, which is a principal branch of the main stream into which it falls, just above the high cliffs or gates observed yesterday, and which they now saw below them. Here they halted, and breakfasted on the last of the deer, keeping a small piece of pork in reserve against accident. They then continued through the low bottom along the main stream near the foot of the mountains on their right. For the first five miles the valley continues towards the south-west from two to three miles in width. Then the main stream, which had received two small branches from the left in the valley, turns abruptly to the west through a narrow bottom between the mountains. The road was still plain, and, as it led them directly on towards the mountain, the stream gradually became smaller till, after going two miles, it had so greatly diminished in width that one of the men in a fit of enthusiasm, with one foot on each side of the river, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. As they went along, their hopes of soon seeing the waters of the Columbia arose almost to pain-

ful anxiety, when after four miles from the last abrupt turn of the river they reached a small gap formed by the high mountains which recede on each side, leaving room for the Indian road. From the foot of one of the lowest of these mountains, which rises with a gentle ascent of about half a mile, issues the remotest water of the Missouri. They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man; and, as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain, as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, which yielded its distant and modest tribute to the parent ocean, they felt themselves rewarded for all their labours and all their difficulties. They left reluctantly this interesting spot, and, pursuing the Indian road through the interval of the hills, arrived at the top of a ridge, from which they saw high mountains partially covered with snow still to the west of them. The ridge on which they stood formed the dividing line between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. They followed a descent much steeper than that on the eastern side, and at the distance of three-quarters of a mile reached a handsome bold creek of cold, clear water running to the westward. They stopped to taste for the first time the waters of the Columbia: and after a few minutes followed the road across steep hills and low hollows till they reached a spring on the side of a mountain. Here they found a sufficient quantity of dry willow brush for fuel, and therefore halted for the night; and, having killed nothing in the course of the day, supped on their last piece of pork, and trusted to fortune for some other food to mix with a little flour and parched meal, which was all that now remained of their provisions. Before reaching the fountain of the Missouri, they saw several large hawks nearly black, and some of the heath cocks: these last have a long pointed tail, and are of a uniform dark brown colour, much larger than the common dunghill fowl, and similar in habits and the mode of flying to the grouse or prairie hen. Drewyer also wounded at the distance of one hundred and thirty yards an animal which we had not yet seen, but which, after falling, recovered itself and escaped. It seemed to be of the fox kind, rather larger than the small wolf of the plains, and with a skin in which black, reddish brown, and yellow were curiously intermixed. On the creek of the Columbia they found a species of currant which does not grow as high as that of the Missouri, though it is more branching, and its leaf, the under disk of which is covered with a hairy pubescence, is twice as large. The fruit is of the ordinary size and shape

of the currant, and supported in the usual manner, but is of a deep purple colour, acid, and of a very inferior flavour.

We proceeded on in the boats, but, as the river was very shallow and rapid, the navigation is extremely difficult, and the men who are almost constantly in the water are getting feeble and sore, and so much worn down by fatigue that they are very anxious to commence travelling by land. We went along the main channel which is on the right side; and, after passing nine bends in that direction, three islands and a number of bayous, reached at the distance of five and a half miles the upper point of a large island. At noon there was a storm of thunder, which continued about half an hour, after which we proceeded; but, as it was necessary to drag the canoes over the shoals and rapids, made but little progress. On leaving the island, we passed a number of short bends, several bayous, and one run of water on the right side; and, having gone by four small and two large islands, encamped on a smooth plain to the left near a few cottonwood-trees. Our journey by water was just twelve miles, and four in a direct line. The hunters supplied us with three deer and a fawn.

The famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke, 1804–6, was the first of the many expeditions sent out during the century for the exploration of the Rocky Mountains. This expedition was sent upon the recommendation of Jefferson, at that time President. Captain Lewis had been Jefferson's private secretary; Captain Clarke was a brother of the famous George Rogers Clarke. Their company consisted of about thirty men, half of them soldiers. In the spring of 1804 they began to ascend the Missouri. They passed the winter among the Mandans, moved forward again early the next April, reached the sources of the Missouri in August, travelled through the mountains, in October embarked on one of the branches of the Columbia, and on November 15 reached the Pacific at the mouth of that great river, having travelled over 4,000 miles. Turning back the next spring, March, 1806, they reached St. Louis in September, after an absence of two years and four months.

The literature of the Lewis and Clarke expedition is very large, especially in the way of government publications. A full account of this literature may be found in the chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions," in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii. The principal popular work is the well-known *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke*, in two volumes, published in 1814. This work was begun by Lewis, and after his suicide was carried on by Nicholas Biddle, with the aid of Clarke and the use of the journals of various officers. The whole was revised by Paul Allen; and Jefferson furnished the memoir of Captain Lewis which is reprinted in the present leaflet. This is doubly valuable, as embodying Jefferson's original instructions to Lewis, showing the remarkable comprehensiveness and wisdom of Jefferson's views concerning the expedition, which was to give our people their first authentic, scientific knowledge of the Rocky Mountain country.

The best brief account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition is in H. H. Bancroft's *History of the Pacific States*, vol. xxiii., which also contains accounts of later expeditions. The notes to the chapter in the *Narrative and Critical History*, already referred to, contain accounts of the literature of the later expeditions, down to the time of Fremont.

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 7.

First Ascent of Fremont's Peak.

FROM FREMONT'S JOURNAL OF HIS FIRST EXPEDITION.

August 10 [1842].— The air at sunrise is clear and pure, and the morning extremely cold, but beautiful. A lofty snow peak of the mountain is glittering in the first rays of the sun, which has not yet reached us. The long mountain wall to the east, rising two thousand feet abruptly from the plain, behind which we see the peaks, is still dark, and cuts clear against the glowing sky. A fog, just risen from the river, lies along the base of the mountain. A little before sunrise, the thermometer was at 35°, and at sunrise 33°. Water froze last night, and fires are very comfortable. The scenery becomes hourly more interesting and grand, and the view here is truly magnificent; but, indeed, it needs something to repay the long prairie journey of a thousand miles. The sun has just shot above the wall, and makes a magical change. The whole valley is glowing and bright, and all the mountain peaks are gleaming like silver. Though these snow mountains are not the Alps, they have their own character of grandeur and magnificence, and will doubtless find pens and pencils to do them justice. In the scene before us, we feel how much wood improves a view. The pines on the mountain seemed to give it much additional beauty. I was agreeably disappointed in the character of the streams on this side the ridge. Instead of the creeks, which description had led me to expect, I find bold, broad streams, with three or four feet water, and a rapid current. The fork on which we are encamped is upwards of a hundred feet wide, timbered with groves or thickets of the low willow. We were now approaching the loftiest part of the Wind River chain; and I left the valley a few miles from our encampment, intending to penetrate the mountains, as far as possible, with

the whole party. We were soon involved in very broken ground, among long ridges covered with fragments of granite. Winding our way up a long ravine, we came unexpectedly in view of a most beautiful lake, set like a gem in the mountains. The sheet of water lay transversely across the direction we had been pursuing; and, descending the steep, rocky ridge, where it was necessary to lead our horses, we followed its banks to the southern extremity. Here a view of the utmost magnificence and grandeur burst upon our eyes. With nothing between us and their feet to lessen the effect of the whole height, a grand bed of snow-capped mountains rose before us, pile upon pile, glowing in the bright light of an August day. Immediately below them lay the lake, between two ridges, covered with dark pines, which swept down from the main chain to the spot where we stood. Here, where the lake glittered in the open sunlight, its banks of yellow sand and the light foliage of aspen groves contrasted well with the gloomy pines. "Never before," said Mr. Preuss, "in this country or in Europe, have I seen such magnificent, grand rocks." I was so much pleased with the beauty of the place that I determined to make the main camp here, where our animals would find good pasturage, and explore the mountains with a small party of men. Proceeding a little further, we came suddenly upon the outlet of the lake, where it found its way through a narrow passage between low hills. Dark pines, which overhung the stream, and masses of rock, where the water foamed along, gave it much romantic beauty. Where we crossed, which was immediately at the outlet, it is two hundred and fifty feet wide, and so deep that with difficulty we were able to ford it. Its bed was an accumulation of rocks, boulders, and broad slabs, and large angular fragments, among which the animals fell repeatedly.

The current was very swift, and the water cold and of a crystal purity. In crossing this stream, I met with a great misfortune in having my barometer broken. It was the only one. A great part of the interest of the journey for me was in the exploration of these mountains, of which so much had been said that was doubtful and contradictory; and now their snowy peaks rose majestically before me, and the only means of giving them authentically to science, the object of my anxious solicitude by night and day, was destroyed. We had brought this barometer in safety a thousand miles, and broke it almost among the snow of the mountains. The loss was felt by the whole camp. All had seen my anxiety, and aided me in preserving it. The height of these mountains, considered by the

hunters and traders the highest in the whole range, had been a theme of constant discussion among them; and all had looked forward with pleasure to the moment when the instrument, which they believed to be true as the sun, should stand upon the summits and decide their disputes. Their grief was only inferior to my own.

This lake is about three miles long and of very irregular width and apparently great depth, and is the head water of the third New Fork, a tributary to Green River, the Colorado of the West. On the map and in the narrative I have called it Mountain Lake. I encamped on the north side, about three hundred and fifty yards from the outlet. This was the most western point at which I obtained astronomical observations, by which this place, called Bernier's encampment, is made in 110° 08′ 03″ west longitude from Greenwich, and latitude 43° 49′ 49″. The mountain peaks, as laid down, were fixed by bearings from this and other astronomical points. We had no other compass than the small ones used in sketching the country; but from an azimuth, in which one of them was used, the variation of the compass is 18° east. The correction made in our field work by the astronomical observations indicates that this is a very correct observation.

As soon as the camp was formed, I set about endeavoring to repair my barometer. As I have already said, this was a standard cistern barometer, of Troughton's construction. The glass cistern had been broken about midway; but, as the instrument had been kept in a proper position, no air had found its way into the tube, the end of which had always remained covered. I had with me a number of vials of tolerably thick glass, some of which were of the same diameter as the cistern, and I spent the day in slowly working on these, endeavoring to cut them of the requisite length; but, as my instrument was a very rough file, I invariably broke them. A groove was cut in one of the trees, where the barometer was placed during the night, to be out of the way of any possible danger; and in the morning I commenced again. Among the powder horns in the camp, I found one which was very transparent, so that its contents could be almost as plainly seen as through glass. This I boiled and stretched on a piece of wood to the requisite diameter, and scraped it very thin, in order to increase to the utmost its transparency. I then secured it firmly in its place on the instrument with strong glue made from a buffalo, and filled it with mercury properly heated. A piece of skin, which had covered one of the vials, furnished a good pocket, which

was well secured with strong thread and glue; and then the brass cover was screwed to its place. The instrument was left some time to dry; and, when I reversed it, a few hours after, I had the satisfaction to find it in perfect order, its indications being about the same as on the other side of the lake before it had been broken. Our success in this little incident diffused pleasure throughout the camp; and we immediately set about our preparations for ascending the mountains.

As will be seen, on reference to a map, on this short mountain chain are the head waters of four great rivers of the continent,— namely, the Colorado, Columbia, Missouri, and Platte Rivers. It had been my design, after having ascended the mountains, to continue our route on the western side of the range, and, crossing through a pass at the north-western end of the chain, about thirty miles from our present camp, return along the eastern slope across the heads of the Yellowstone River, and join on the line to our station of August 7, immediately at the foot of the ridge. In this way, I should be enabled to include the whole chain and its numerous waters in my survey; but various considerations induced me, very reluctantly, to abandon this plan.

I was desirous to keep strictly within the scope of my instructions; and it would have required ten or fifteen additional days for the accomplishment of this object. Our animals had become very much worn out with the length of the journey; game was very scarce; and, though it does not appear in the course of the narrative (as I have avoided dwelling upon trifling incidents not connected with the objects of the expedition), the spirits of the men had been much exhausted by the hardships and privations to which they had been subjected. Our provisions had well-nigh all disappeared. Bread had been long out of the question; and of all our stock we had remaining two or three pounds of coffee and a small quantity of macaroni, which had been husbanded with great care for the mountain expedition we were about to undertake. Our daily meal consisted of dry buffalo meat cooked in tallow; and, as we had not dried this with Indian skill, part of it was spoiled, and what remained of good was as hard as wood, having much the taste and appearance of so many pieces of bark. Even of this, our stock was rapidly diminishing in a camp which was capable of consuming two buffaloes in every twenty-four hours. These animals had entirely disappeared, and it was not probable that we should fall in with them again until we returned to the Sweet Water.

Our arrangements for the ascent were rapidly completed. We were in a hostile country, which rendered the greatest vigilance and circumspection necessary. The pass at the north end of the mountain was generally infested by Blackfeet; and immediately opposite was one of their forts, on the edge of a little thicket, two or three hundred feet from our encampment. We were posted in a grove of beech, on the margin of the lake, and a few hundred feet long, with a narrow *prairillon* on the inner side, bordered by the rocky ridge. In the upper end of this grove we cleared a circular space about forty feet in diameter, and with the felled timber and interwoven branches surrounded it with a breastwork five feet in height. A gap was left for a gate on the inner side, by which the animals were to be driven in and secured, while the men slept around the little work. It was half hidden by the foliage, and, garrisoned by twelve resolute men, would have set at defiance any band of savages which might chance to discover them in the interval of our absence. Fifteen of the best mules, with fourteen men, were selected for the mountain party. Our provisions consisted of dried meat for two days, with our little stock of coffee and some macaroni. In addition to the barometer and a thermometer I took with me a sextant and spy-glass, and we had, of course, our compasses. In charge of the camp I left Brenier, one of my most trustworthy men, who possessed the most determined courage.

August 12.— Early in the morning we left the camp, fifteen in number, well armed, of course, and mounted on our best mules. A pack animal carried our provisions, with a coffee-pot and kettle and three or four tin cups. Every man had a blanket strapped over his saddle, to serve for his bed, and the instruments were carried by turns on their backs. We entered directly on rough and rocky ground, and, just after crossing the ridge, had the good fortune to shoot an antelope. We heard the roar, and had a glimpse of a waterfall as we rode along; and, crossing in our way two fine streams, tributary to the Colorado, in about two hours' ride we reached the top of the first row or range of the mountains. Here, again, a view of the most romantic beauty met our eyes. It seemed as if, from the vast expanse of uninteresting prairie we had passed over, Nature had collected all her beauties together in one chosen place. We were overlooking a deep valley, which was entirely occupied by three lakes, and from the brink the surrounding ridges rose precipitously five hundred and a thousand feet, covered with the dark green of the balsam pine, relieved on the border of

the lake with the light foliage of the aspen. They all communicated with each other; and the green of the waters, common to mountain lakes of great depth, showed that it would be impossible to cross them. The surprise manifested by our guides when these impassable obstacles suddenly barred our progress proved that they were among the hidden treasures of the place, unknown even to the wandering trappers of the region. Descending the hill, we proceeded to make our way along the margin to the southern extremity. A narrow strip of angular fragments of rock sometimes afforded a rough pathway for our mules; but generally we rode along the shelving side, occasionally scrambling up, at a considerable risk of tumbling back into the lake.

The slope was frequently 60°. The pines grew densely together, and the ground was covered with the branches and trunks of trees. The air was fragrant with the odor of the pines; and I realized this delightful morning the pleasure of breathing that mountain air which makes a constant theme of the hunter's praise, and which now made us feel as if we had all been drinking some exhilarating gas. The depths of this unexplored forest were a place to delight the heart of a botanist. There was a rich undergrowth of plants and numerous gay-colored flowers in brilliant bloom. We reached the outlet at length, where some freshly barked willows that lay in the water showed that beaver had been recently at work. There were some small brown squirrels jumping about in the pines and a couple of large mallard ducks swimming about in the stream.

The hills on this southern end were low, and the lake looked like a mimic sea as the waves broke on the sandy beach in the force of a strong breeze. There was a pretty open spot, with fine grass for our mules; and we made our noon halt on the beach, under the shade of some large hemlocks. We resumed our journey after a halt of about an hour, making our way up the ridge on the western side of the lake. In search of smoother ground, we rode a little inland, and, passing through groves of aspen, soon found ourselves again among the pines. Emerging from these, we struck the summit of the ridge above the upper end of the lake.

We had reached a very elevated point; and in the valley below and among the hills were a number of lakes at different levels, some two or three hundred feet above others, with which they communicated by foaming torrents. Even to our great height, the roar of the cataracts came up; and we could see

them leaping down in lines of snowy foam. From this scene of busy waters, we turned abruptly into the stillness of a forest, where we rode among the open bolls of the pines over a lawn of verdant grass, having strikingly the air of cultivated grounds. This led us, after a time, among masses of rock, which had no vegetable earth but in hollows and crevices, though still the pine forest continued. Toward evening we reached a defile, or rather a hole in the mountains, entirely shut in by dark pine-covered rocks.

A small stream, with a scarcely perceptible current, flowed through a level bottom of perhaps eighty yards' width, where the grass was saturated with water. Into this the mules were turned, and were neither hobbled nor picketed during the night, as the fine pasturage took away all temptation to stray; and we made our bivouac in the pines. The surrounding masses were all of granite. While supper was being prepared, I set out on an excursion in the neighborhood, accompanied by one of my men. We wandered about among the crags and ravines until dark, richly repaid for our walk by a fine collection of plants, many of them in full bloom. Ascending a peak to find the place of our camp, we saw that the little defile in which we lay communicated with the long green valley of some stream, which, here locked up in the mountains, far away to the south, found its way in a dense forest to the plains.

Looking along its upward course, it seemed to conduct by a smooth gradual slope directly toward the peak, which, from long consultation as we approached the mountain, we had decided to be the highest of the range. Pleased with the discovery of so fine a road for the next day, we hastened down to the camp, where we arrived just in time for supper. Our table service was rather scant; and we held the meat in our hands, and clean rocks made good plates on which we spread our macaroni. Among all the strange places on which we had occasion to encamp during our long journey, none have left so vivid an impression on my mind as the camp of this evening. The disorder of the masses which surrounded us, the little hole through which we saw the stars overhead, the dark pines where we slept, and the rocks lit up with the glow of our fires made a night picture of very wild beauty.

August 13.— The morning was bright and pleasant, just cool enough to make exercise agreeable; and we soon entered the defile I had seen the preceding day. It was smoothly carpeted with a soft grass and scattered over with groups of flowers, of which yellow was the predominant color. Sometimes we were

forced by an occasional difficult pass to pick our way on a narrow ledge along the side of the defile, and the mules were frequently on their knees; but these obstructions were rare, and we journeyed on in the sweet morning air, delighted at our good fortune in having found such a beautiful entrance to the mountains. This road continued for about three miles, when we suddenly reached its termination in one of the grand views which at every turn meet the traveller in this magnificent region. Here the defile up which we had travelled opened out into a small lawn, where, in a little lake, the stream had its source.

There were some fine *asters* in bloom, but all the flowering plants appeared to seek the shelter of the rocks and to be of lower growth than below, as if they loved the warmth of the soil, and kept out of the way of the winds. Immediately at our feet a precipitous descent led to a confusion of defiles, and before us rose the mountains as we have represented them in the annexed view. It is not by the splendor of far-off views, which have lent such a glory to the Alps, that these impress the mind, but by a gigantic disorder of enormous masses and a savage sublimity of naked rock in wonderful contrast with innumerable green spots of a rich floral beauty shut up in their stern recesses. Their wildness seems well suited to the character of the people who inhabit the country.

I determined to leave our animals here and make the rest of our way on foot. The peak appeared so near that there was no doubt of our returning before night; and a few men were left in charge of the mules, with our provisions and blankets. We took with us nothing but our arms and instruments, and, as the day had become warm, the greater part left our coats. Having made an early dinner, we started again. We were soon involved in the most ragged precipices, nearing the central chain very slowly, and rising but little. The first ridge hid a succession of others; and when, with great fatigue and difficulty, we had climbed up five hundred feet, it was but to make an equal descent on the other side. All these intervening places were filled with small deep lakes, which met the eye in every direction, descending from one level to another, sometimes under bridges formed by huge fragments of granite, beneath which was heard the roar of the water. These constantly obstructed our path, forcing us to make long *détours*, frequently obliged to retrace our steps, and frequently falling among the rocks. Maxwell was precipitated toward the face of a precipice, and saved himself from going over by throwing

himself flat on the ground. We clambered on, always expecting with every ridge that we crossed to reach the foot of the peaks, and always disappointed, until about four o'clock, when, pretty well worn out, we reached the shore of a little lake in which there was a rocky island, and from which we obtained the view given in the frontispiece. We remained here a short time to rest, and continued on around the lake, which had in some places a beach of white sand, and in others was bound with rocks, over which the way was difficult and dangerous, as the water from innumerable springs made them very slippery.

By the time we had reached the further side of the lake, we found ourselves all exceedingly fatigued, and, much to the satisfaction of the whole party, we encamped. The spot we had chosen was a broad, flat rock, in some measure protected from the winds by the surrounding crags, and the trunks of fallen pines afforded us bright fires. Near by was a foaming torrent which tumbled into the little lake about one hundred and fifty feet below us, and which, by way of distinction, we have called Island Lake. We had reached the upper limit of the piney region; as above this point no tree was to be seen, and patches of snow lay everywhere around us on the cold sides of the rocks. The flora of the region we had traversed since leaving our mules was extremely rich, and among the characteristic plants the scarlet flowers of the *Dodecatheon dentatum* everywhere met the eye in great abundance. A small green ravine, on the edge of which we were encamped, was filled with a profusion of alpine plants in brilliant bloom. From barometrical observations made during our three days' sojourn at this place, its elevation above the Gulf of Mexico is 10,000 feet. During the day we had seen no sign of animal life; but among the rocks here we heard what was supposed to be the bleat of a young goat, which we searched for with hungry activity, and found to proceed from a small animal of a gray color, with short ears and no tail,— probably the Siberian squirrel. We saw a considerable number of them, and, with the exception of a small bird like a sparrow, it is the only inhabitant of this elevated part of the mountains. On our return we saw below this lake large flocks of the mountain goat. We had nothing to eat to-night. Lajeunesse with several others took their guns and sallied out in search of a goat, but returned unsuccessful. At sunset the barometer stood at 20.522, the attached thermometer 50°. Here we had the misfortune to break our thermometer, having now only that attached to the barometer. I was taken ill shortly after we had encamped, and continued so until late

in the night, with violent headache and vomiting. This was probably caused by the excessive fatigue I had undergone and want of food, and perhaps also in some measure by the rarity of the air. The night was cold, as a violent gale from the north had sprung up at sunset, which entirely blew away the heat of the fires. The cold and our granite beds had not been favorable to sleep, and we were glad to see the face of the sun in the morning. Not being delayed by any preparation for breakfast, we set out immediately.

On every side as we advanced was heard the roar of waters and of a torrent, which we followed up a short distance until it expanded into a lake about one mile in length. On the northern side of the lake was a bank of ice, or rather of snow covered with a crust of ice. Carson had been our guide into the mountains, and agreeably to his advice we left this little valley and took to the ridges again, which we found extremely broken and where we were again involved among precipices. Here were ice fields; among which we were all dispersed, seeking each the best path to ascend the peak. Mr. Preuss attempted to walk along the upper edge of one of these fields, which sloped away at an angle of about twenty degrees; but his feet slipped from under him, and he went plunging down the plane. A few hundred feet below, at the bottom, were some fragments of sharp rock, on which he landed, and, though he turned a couple of somersets, fortunately received no injury beyond a few bruises. Two of the men, Clément Lambert and Descoteaux, had been taken ill, and lay down on the rocks a short distance below; and at this point I was attacked with headache and giddiness, accompanied by vomiting, as on the day before. Finding myself unable to proceed, I sent the barometer over to Mr. Preuss, who was in a gap two or three hundred yards distant, desiring him to reach the peak, if possible, and take an observation there. He found himself unable to proceed further in that direction, and took an observation where the barometer stood at 19.401, attached thermometer 50° in the gap. Carson, who had gone over to him, succeeded in reaching one of the snowy summits of the main ridge, whence he saw the peak towards which all our efforts had been directed towering eight or ten hundred feet into the air above him. In the mean time, finding myself grow rather worse than better, and doubtful how far my strength would carry me, I sent Basil Lajeunesse with four men back to the place where the mules had been left.

We were now better acquainted with the topography of the country; and I directed him to bring back with him, if it were

in any way possible, four or five mules, with provisions and blankets. With me were Maxwell and Ayer; and, after we had remained nearly an hour on the rock, it became so unpleasantly cold, though the day was bright, that we set out on our return to the camp, at which we all arrived safely, straggling in one after the other. I continued ill during the afternoon, but became better towards sundown, when my recovery was completed by the appearance of Basil and four men, all mounted. The men who had gone with him had been too much fatigued to return, and were relieved by those in charge of the horses; but in his powers of endurance Basil resembled more a mountain goat than a man. They brought blankets and provisions, and we enjoyed well our dried meat and a cup of good coffee. We rolled ourselves up in our blankets, and, with our feet turned to a blazing fire, slept soundly until morning.

August 15.— It had been supposed that we had finished with the mountains; and the evening before it had been arranged that Carson should set out at daylight, and return to breakfast at the Camp of the Mules, taking with him all but four or five men, who were to stay with me and bring back the mules and instruments. Accordingly, at the break of day they set out. With Mr. Preuss and myself remained Basil Lajeunesse, Clément Lambert, Janisse, and Descoteaux. When we had secured strength for the day by a hearty breakfast, we covered what remained, which was enough for one meal, with rocks, in order that it might be safe from any marauding bird, and, saddling our mules, turned our faces once more towards the peaks. This time we determined to proceed quietly and cautiously, deliberately resolved to accomplish our object, if it were within the compass of human means. We were of opinion that a long defile which lay to the left of yesterday's route would lead us to the foot of the main peak. Our mules had been refreshed by the fine grass in the little ravine at the island camp, and we intended to ride up the defile as far as possible, in order to husband our strength for the main ascent. Though this was a fine passage, still it was a defile of the most rugged mountains known, and we had many a rough and steep slippery place to cross before reaching the end. In this place the sun rarely shone. Snow lay along the border of the small stream which flowed through it, and occasional icy passages made the footing of the mules very insecure; and the rocks and ground were moist with the trickling waters in this spring of mighty rivers. We soon had the satisfaction to find ourselves riding along the huge wall which forms the central summits of the

chain. There at last it rose by our sides, a nearly perpendicular wall of granite, terminating 2,000 to 3,000 feet above our heads in a serrated line of broken, jagged cones. We rode on until we came almost immediately below the main peak, which I denominated the Snow Peak, as it exhibited more snow to the eye than any of the neighboring summits. Here were three small lakes of a green color, each of perhaps a thousand yards in diameter, and apparently very deep. These lay in a kind of chasm; and, according to the barometer, we had attained but a few hundred feet above the Island Lake. The barometer here stood at 20.450, attached thermometer 70°.

We managed to get our mules up to a little bench about a hundred feet above the lakes, where there was a patch of good grass, and turned them loose to graze. During our rough ride to this place, they had exhibited a wonderful surefootedness. Parts of the defile were filled with angular, sharp fragments of rock,— three or four and eight or ten feet cube,— and among these they had worked their way, leaping from one narrow point to another, rarely making a false step, and giving us no occasion to dismount. Having divested ourselves of every unnecessary encumbrance, we commenced the ascent. This time, like experienced travellers, we did not press ourselves, but climbed leisurely, sitting down so soon as we found breath beginning to fail. At intervals we reached places where a number of springs gushed from the rocks, and about 1,800 feet above the lakes came to the snow line. From this point our progress was uninterrupted climbing. Hitherto I had worn a pair of thick moccasins, with soles of *parflèche;* but here I put on a light thin pair, which I had brought for the purpose, as now the use of our toes became necessary to a further advance. I availed myself of a sort of comb of the mountain, which stood against the wall like a buttress, and which the wind and the solar radiation, joined to the steepness of the smooth rock, had kept almost entirely free from snow. Up this I made my way rapidly. Our cautious method of advancing in the outset had spared my strength; and, with the exception of a slight disposition to headache, I felt no remains of yesterday's illness. In a few minutes we reached a point where the buttress was overhanging, and there was no other way of surmounting the difficulty than by passing around one side of it, which was the face of a vertical precipice of several hundred feet.

Putting hands and feet in the crevices between the blocks, I succeeded in getting over it, and, when I reached the top, found my companions in a small valley below. Descending

to them, we continued climbing, and in a short time reached the crest. I sprang upon the summit, and another step would have precipitated me into an immense snow field five hundred feet below. To the edge of this field was a sheer icy precipice; and then, with a gradual fall, the field sloped off for about a mile, until it struck the foot of another lower ridge. I stood on a narrow crest, about three feet in width, with an inclination of about 20° N. 51° E. As soon as I had gratified the first feelings of curiosity, I descended, and each man ascended in his turn; for I would only allow one at a time to mount the unstable and precarious slab, which it seemed a breath would hurl into the abyss below. We mounted the barometer in the snow of the summit, and, fixing a ramrod in a crevice, unfurled the national flag to wave in the breeze where never flag waved before. During our morning's ascent we had met no sign of animal life except the small, sparrow-like bird already mentioned. A stillness the most profound and a terrible solitude forced themselves constantly on the mind as the great features of the place. Here on the summit where the stillness was absolute, unbroken by any sound, and the solitude complete, we thought ourselves beyond the region of animated life; but, while we were sitting on the rock, a solitary bee (*bromus, the humble bee*) came winging his flight from the eastern valley, and lit on the knee of one of the men.

It was a strange place — the icy rock and the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains — for a lover of warm sunshine and flowers; and we pleased ourselves with the idea that he was the first of his species to cross the mountain barrier, a solitary pioneer to foretell the advance of civilization. I believe that a moment's thought would have made us let him continue his way unharmed; but we carried out the law of this country, where all animated nature seems at war, and, seizing him immediately, put him in at least a fit place,— in the leaves of a large book, among the flowers we had collected on our way. The barometer stood at 18.293, the attached thermometer at 44°, giving for the elevation of this summit 13.570 feet above the Gulf of Mexico, which may be called the highest flight of the bee. It is certainly the highest known flight of that insect. From the description given by Mackenzie of the mountains where he crossed them with that of a French officer still farther to the north and Colonel Long's measurements to the south, joined to the opinion of the oldest traders of the country, it is presumed that this is the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains. The day was sunny and bright, but a slight shining

mist hung over the lower plains, which interfered with our view of the surrounding country. On one side we overlooked innumerable lakes and streams, the spring of the Colorado of the Gulf of California; and on the other was the Wind River Valley, where were the heads of the Yellowstone branch of the Missouri. Far to the north we just could discover the snowy heads of the *Trois Tetons*, where were the sources of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; and at the southern extremity of the ridge the peaks were plainly visible, among which were some of the springs of the Nebraska or Platte River. Around us the whole scene had one main striking feature, which was that of terrible convulsion. Parallel to its length, the ridge was split into chasms and fissures, between which rose the thin, lofty walls, terminated with slender minarets and columns, which is correctly represented in the view from the camp on Island Lake. According to the barometer, the little crest of the wall on which we stood was three thousand five hundred and seventy feet above that place and two thousand seven hundred and eighty above the little lakes at the bottom, immediately at our feet. Our camp at the Two Hills (an astronomical station) bore south 3° east, which with a bearing afterward obtained from a fixed position enabled us to locate the peak. The bearing of the *Trois Tetons* was north 50° west, and the direction of the central ridge of the Wind River Mountains south 39° east. The summit rock was gneiss, succeeded by sienitic gneiss. Sienite and feldspar succeeded in our descent to the snow line, where we found a feldspathic granite. I had remarked that the noise produced by the explosion of our pistols had the usual degree of loudness, but was not in the least prolonged, expiring almost instantaneously. Having now made what observations our means afforded, we proceeded to descend. We had accomplished an object of laudable ambition, and beyond the strict order of our instructions. We had climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains, and looked down upon the snow a thousand feet below, and, standing where never human foot had stood before, felt the exultation of first explorers. It was about two o'clock when we left the summit; and, when we reached the bottom, the sun had already sunk behind the wall, and the day was drawing to a close. It would have been pleasant to have lingered here and on the summit longer; but we hurried away as rapidly as the ground would permit, for it was an object to regain our party as soon as possible, not knowing what accident the next hour might bring forth.

We reached our deposit of provisions at nightfall. Here was

not the inn which awaits the tired traveller on his return from Mont Blanc, or the orange groves of South America, with their refreshing juices and soft, fragrant air; but we found our little *cache* of dried meat and coffee undisturbed. Though the moon was bright, the road was full of precipices, and the fatigue of the day had been great. We therefore abandoned the idea of rejoining our friends, and lay down on the rock, and in spite of the cold slept soundly.

The Great Salt Lake.

From Fremont's Journal of his Second Expedition.

The cliffs and masses of rock along the shore were whitened by an incrustation of salt where the waves dashed up against them; and the evaporating water, which had been left in holes and hollows on the surface of the rocks, was covered with a crust of salt about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. It appeared strange that in the midst of this grand reservoir one of our greatest wants lately had been salt. Exposed to be more perfectly dried in the sun, this became very white and fine, having the usual flavor of very excellent common salt, without any foreign taste; but only a little was collected for present use, as there was in it a number of small black insects. Carrying with us the barometer and other instruments, in the afternoon we ascended to the highest point of the island,—a bare, rocky peak, 800 feet above the lake. Standing on the summit, we enjoyed an extended view of the lake, enclosed in a basin of rugged mountains, which sometimes left marshy flats and extensive bottoms between them and the shore, and in other places came directly down into the water with bold and precipitous bluffs. Following with our glasses the irregular shores, we searched for some indications of a communication with other bodies of water or the entrance of other rivers; but the distance was so great that we could make out nothing with certainty. To the southward, several peninsular mountains, 3,000 or 4,000 feet high, entered the lake, appearing, so far as the distance and our position enabled us to determine, to be connected by flats and low ridges with the mountains in the rear. At the season of high waters in the spring it is probable that all the marshes and low grounds are overflowed, and the surface of the lake considerably greater. In several places the view was of unlimited extent,—here and there a rocky islet appearing above the water at a great distance; and beyond everything was vague and undefined. As we looked over the vast expanse of water spread out beneath us, and strained our

eyes along the silent shores over which hung so much doubt and uncertainty, and which were so full of interest to us, I could hardly repress the almost irresistible desire to continue our exploration; but the lengthening snow on the mountains was a plain indication of the advancing season, and our frail linen boat appeared so insecure that I was unwilling to trust our lives to the uncertainties of the lake. I therefore unwillingly resolved to terminate our survey here, and remain satisfied for the present with what we had been able to add to the unknown geography of the region. We felt pleasure also in remembering that we were the first who, in the traditionary annals of the country, had visited the islands, and broken, with the cheerful sound of human voices, the long solitude of the place.

Save Lewis and Clarke alone, there is no name in the annals of the exploration of the Rocky Mountains so brilliant or noteworthy as that of John C. Fremont. In 1842, when not yet thirty years old, Fremont, then a lieutenant in the corps of topographical engineers, projected a geographical survey of the entire territory of the United States, from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. He left Washington May 2, 1842, under the directions of the War Department, to explore the Rocky Mountains, and particularly to examine the South Pass. He accomplished his task in four months, exploring the Wind River Mountains and ascending their highest point, since known as Fremont's Peak. His report, a passage from which is given in the present leaflet, attracted great attention both in this country and in Europe. In May, 1843, he set out with thirty-nine men on a much more comprehensive expedition. In September, after travelling more than 1,700 miles, he came in sight of the Great Salt Lake, of which very inaccurate notions had obtained until his time. His accounts had an important influence in promoting the settlement of Utah and the Pacific States. He proceeded north to the Columbia River, which he followed to its mouth. He returned to the upper Colorado and thence pushed his way over the mountains, through the snows, enduring terrible hardships, to the Sacramento Valley in California. In March, 1844, he turned southward, then crossed the Sierras, and returned by the way of Salt Lake to Kansas, which he reached after an absence of fourteen months. In 1845 he set out on a third expedition, to explore California and Oregon. On July 4, 1846, he was elected governor of California by the American settlers, and became involved in troubles which led to his leaving the army. In 1848 he started on a fourth expedition, at his own expense, this time to find a southern route to California. He now settled in California, and in 1849 was elected one of the two senators to represent the new State in the United States Senate. In 1853, after a year in Europe, he fitted out a fifth exploring expedition for California, in which his party suffered terrible privations, for fifty days living on horse-flesh, and for forty-eight hours at a time being without food of any kind. His name had now become prominent in politics, on account of his opposition to the extension of slavery; and in 1856 he became the first Republican candidate for the Presidency.

See Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 1842, *and to Oregon and North California*, 1843–44; also his *Memoirs of my Life* (1887), and the Lives of Fremont by Bigelow and others.

Old South Leaflets.

ELEVENTH SERIES, 1893. No. 8.

Father Marquette at Chicago.

FROM MARQUETTE'S NARRATIVE AND DABLON'S NARRATIVE.

After a month's navigation down the Mississippi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akamsea on the 17th of July, [1673] to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Mississippi, which gave us great trouble to stem its currents. We left it indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Ilinois.*

We had seen nothing like this river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver, its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is broad, deep, and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer the only portage is half a league.

We found there an Ilinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins. They received us well, and compelled me to promise to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Ilinois Lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid, whence we had set out in the beginning of June.

Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid; and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the

* Lake Michigan was so called for a long time, probably from the fact that through it lay the direct route to the Ilinois villages, which Father Marquette was now the first to visit. Marest erroneously treats the name as a mistake of geographers, and is one of the first to call it Michigan. The river which Marquette now ascended has been more fortunate: it still bears the name of Ilinois.— *Shea.*

Indians of Peoria.* I was three days announcing the faith in all their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought me on the water's edge a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable Providence for the salvation of that innocent soul.

Father James Marquette, having promised the Ilinois, called Kaskaskia, to return among them to teach them our mysteries, had great difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought on a dysentery, and had so enfeebled him that he lost all hope of undertaking a second voyage. Yet, his malady having given way and almost ceased toward the close of summer in the following year, he obtained permission of his superiors to return to the Ilinois to found that noble mission.†

*Unfortunately, he does not tell us where he met these roving Peorians, who thus enabled him to keep his promise to resist them. As they have left their name on the Ilinois River, he may have found them there, below the Kaskaskias, who, no less erratic, left their name to a more southerly river and to a town at its mouth on the Mississippi. It must, then, be borne in mind that Marquette's Peoria and his and Allouez's town of Kaskaskia are quite different from the present places of the name in situation. The Ilinois seemed to have formed a link between the wandering Algonquin and the fixed Iroquois. They had villages like the latter; and, though they roved like the former, they roved in villages.— *Shea.*

† By his last journal we learn that Father Marquette was detained at the mission of Saint Francis Xavier in Green Bay during the whole summer of 1674. Recovering in September, he drew up and sent to his superiors copies of his journal down the Mississippi, and, having received orders to repair to the Ilinois, set out on the 25th of October with two men named Pierre Porteret and Jacques ——. They crossed the peninsula which forms the eastern side of Green Bay, and began to coast along the shore of Lake Michigan, accompanied by some Ilinois and Pottawatomies. They advanced but slowly by land and water, frequently arrested by the state of the lake. On the 23d of November the good missionary was again seized by his malady; but he pushed on, and by the 4th of December had reached the Chicago, which connects by portage with the Ilinois. But the river was now frozen; and, though they attempted to proceed, the pious missionary submitted to the necessity, and deprived even of the consolation of saying mass on his patronal feast, the Immaculate Conception, resolved at last, on the 14th, to winter at the portage, as his illness increased. His Indian companions now left him; and, though aided by some French traders, he suffered much during the following months. Of this, however, he says nothing. "The Blessed Virgin Immaculate," says his journal, "has taken such care of us during our wandering that we have never wanted food; we have lived very comfortably; my illness not having prevented my saying mass every day." How little can we realize the faith and self-denial which could give so pleasant a face to a winter passed by a dying man in a cabin open to the winds. The Ilinois, aware of his presence so near them, sent indeed; but so gross were their ideas of his object that they asked the dying missionary for powder and goods. "I have come to instruct you, and speak to you of the prayer," was his answer. "Powder I have not: we come to spread peace through the land, and I do not wish to see you at war with the Miamis." As for goods, he could but encourage the French to continue their trade. Despairing at last of human remedies, the missionary and his two pious companions began a novena, or nine days' devotion, to the Blessed Virgin Immaculate. From its close he began to gain strength, and, when the freshet compelled them to remove their cabin, on the 29th of March he set out again on his long interrupted voyage, the river being now open. His last entry is of the 6th of April, when the wind and cold compelled them to halt. He never found time to continue his journal; and his last words are a playful allusion to the hardships undergone by the traders, in which he sympathized, while insensible of his own.— *Shea.*

He set out for this purpose in the month of November, 1674, from the Bay of the Fetid, with two men, one of whom had already made that voyage with him. During a month's navigation on the Ilinois Lake he was pretty well; but, as soon as the snow began to fall, he was again seized with the dysentery, which forced him to stop in the river which leads to the Ilinois. There they raised a cabin, and spent the winter in such want of every comfort that his illness constantly increased. He felt that God had granted him the grace he had so often asked, and he even plainly told his companions so, assuring them that he would die of that illness and on that voyage. To prepare his soul for its departure, he began that rude wintering by the exercises of Saint Ignatius, which, in spite of his great bodily weakness, he performed with deep sentiments of devotion and great heavenly consolation; and then spent the rest of his time in colloquies with all heaven, having no more intercourse with earth amid these deserts, except with his two companions, whom he confessed and communicated twice a week, and exhorted as much as his strength allowed. Some time after Christmas, in order to obtain the grace not to die without having taken possession of his beloved mission, he invited his companions to make a novena in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Contrary to all human expectation, he was heard, and, recovering, found himself able to proceed to the Ilinois town as soon as navigation was free. This he accomplished in great joy, setting out on the 29th of March. He was eleven days on the way, where he had ample matter for suffering, both from his still sickly state and from the severity and inclemency of the weather.

Having at last reached the town on the 8th of April, he was received there as an angel from heaven; and after having several times assembled the chiefs of the nation with all the old men (*anciens*), to sow in their minds the first seed of the gospel, after carrying his instructions into the cabins, which were always filled with crowds of people, he resolved to speak to all publicly in general assembly, which he convoked in the open fields, the cabins being too small for the meeting. A beautiful prairie near the town was chosen for the great council. It was adorned in the fashion of the country, being spread with mats and bear-skins; and the father, having hung on cords some pieces of India taffety, attached to them four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin, which were thus visible on all sides. The auditory was composed of five hundred chiefs and old men, seated in a circle around the father, while the youth stood with-

out to the number of fifteen hundred, not counting women and children who are very numerous, the town being composed of five or six hundred fires.

The father spoke to all this gathering, and addressed them ten words by ten presents which he made them; he explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the end for which he had come to their country; and especially he preached to them Christ crucified, for it was the very eve of the great day on which he died on the cross for them, as well as for the rest of men. He then said mass.

Three days after, on Easter Sunday, things being arranged in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the holy mysteries for the second time; and by these two sacrifices, the first ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave this mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

He was listened to with universal joy and approbation by all this people, who earnestly besought him to return as soon as possible among them, since his malady obliged him to leave them. The father, on his part, showed them the affection he bore them, his satisfaction at their conduct, and gave his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to continue this mission so happily begun. This promise he repeated again and again, on parting with them to begin his journey. He set out amid such marks of friendship from these good people that they escorted him with pomp more than thirty leagues of the way, contending with one another for the honor of carrying his little baggage.

After the Ilinois had taken leave of the father, filled with a great idea of the gospel, he continued his voyage, and soon after reached the Ilinois Lake, on which he had nearly a hundred leagues to make by an unknown route, because he was obliged to take the southern [eastern] side of the lake, having gone thither by the northern [western]. His strength, however, failed so much that his men despaired of being able to carry him alive to their journey's end; for, in fact, he became so weak and exhausted that he could no longer help himself, nor even stir, and had to be handled and carried like a child.

He nevertheless maintained in this state an admirable equanimity, joy, and gentleness, consoling his beloved companions and encouraging them to suffer courageously all the hardships of the way, assuring them that our Lord would not forsake

them when he was gone. During this navigation he began to prepare more particularly for death, passing his time in colloquies with our Lord, with His holy mother, with his angel-guardian, or with all heaven. He was often heard pronouncing these words: "I believe that my Redeemer liveth," or "Mary, mother of grace, mother of God, remember me." Besides a spiritual reading made for him every day, he toward the close asked them to read him his meditation on the preparation of death, which he carried about him. He recited his breviary every day; and, although he was so low that both sight and strength had greatly failed, he did not omit it till the last day of his life, when his companions induced him to cease, as it was shortening his days.

A week before his death he had the precaution to bless some holy water, to serve him during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how to use it.

The eve of his death, which was a Friday, he told them, all radiant with joy, that it would take place on the morrow. During the whole day he conversed with them about the manner of his burial, the way in which he should be laid out, the place to be selected for his interment; he told them how to arrange his hands, feet, and face, and directed them to raise a cross over his grave. He even went so far as to enjoin them, only three hours before he expired, to take his chapel-bell, as soon as he was dead, and ring it while they carried him to the grave. Of all this he spoke so calmly and collectedly that you would have thought that he spoke of the death and burial of another, and not of his own.

Thus did he speak with them as they sailed along the lake, till, perceiving the mouth of a river with an eminence on the bank which he thought suited for his burial, he told them that it was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to pass on, as the weather permitted it and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind which obliged them to return and enter the river pointed out by Father Marquette.

They then carried him ashore, kindled a little fire, and raised for him a wretched bark cabin, where they laid him as little uncomfortably as they could; but they were so overcome by sadness that, as they afterward said, they did not know what they were doing.

The father being thus stretched on the shore, like Saint Francis Xavier, as he had always so ardently desired, and left alone amid those forests,— for his companions were engaged in

unloading,—he had leisure to repeat all the acts in which he had employed himself during the preceding days.

When his dear companions afterward came up all dejected, he consoled them, and gave them hopes that God would take care of them after his death in those new and unknown countries. He gave them his last instructions, thanked them for all the charity they had shown him during the voyage, begged their pardon for the trouble he had given them, and directed them also to ask pardon in his name of all our fathers and brothers in the Ottawa country, and then disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance, which he administered to them for the last time. He also gave them a paper on which he had written all his faults since his last confession, to be given to his superior to oblige him to pray more earnestly for him. In fine, he promised not to forget them in heaven; and, as he was very kind-hearted and knew them to be worn out with the toil of the preceding days, he bade them go and take a little rest, assuring them that his hour was not yet so near but that he would wake them when it was time, as in fact he did two or three hours after, calling them when about to enter his agony.

When they came near, he embraced them for the last time, while they melted in tears at his feet. He then asked for the holy water and his reliquary, and, taking off his crucifix, which he wore around his neck, he placed it in the hands of one, asking him to hold it constantly opposite him, raised before his eyes. Then, feeling that he had but a little time to live, he made a last effort, clasped his hands; and, with his eyes fixed sweetly on his crucifix, he pronounced aloud his profession of faith, and thanked the Divine Majesty for the immense grace he did him in allowing him to die in the society of Jesus,—to die in it as a missionary of Jesus Christ, and, above all, to die in it, as he had always asked, in a wretched cabin amid the forests, destitute of all human aid.

On this he became silent, conversing inwardly with God; yet from time to time words escaped him: "Sustinuit anima mea in verba ejus," or "Mater Dei, memento mei," which were the last words he uttered before entering on his agony, which was very calm and gentle.

He had prayed his companions to remind him, when they saw him about to expire, to pronounce frequently the names of Jesus and Mary. When he could not do it himself, they did it for him; and, when they thought him about to pass, one cried aloud, Jesus Maria, which he several times repeated distinctly,

and then, as if at those sacred names something had appeared to him, he suddenly raised his eyes above his crucifix, fixing them apparently on some object which he seemed to regard with pleasure, and thus with a countenance all radiant with smiles he expired without a struggle, as gently as if he had sunk into a quiet sleep.

His two poor companions, after shedding many tears over his body, and having laid it out as he had directed, carried it devoutly to the grave, ringing the bell according to his injunction, and raised a large cross near it to serve as a mark for passers-by.

Father Marquette at Chicago.

From an Article on "Early Visitors to Chicago," in the New England Magazine for April, 1892, by Edward G. Mason, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

It is customary to speak of Chicago as a comparatively new place, but it assumes a respectable antiquity when we remember that it was known to white men more than two hundred years ago. Those who saw it then were so regardless of the curiosity of posterity as to leave but scanty mementoes of their presence. Could any one of them have imagined that he was standing on the site of a city destined to be the second in size in our land, that upon the marsh and sand bank which lay before him was to rise the metropolis of the Great West, we may be sure that he would have taken pains to let us know of his being at the very beginning of human association with this portion of the earth's surface, and to ask us, for that reason, to hold his name in remembrance.

We cannot possibly identify the earliest visitor to Chicago, but high authority is inclined to hold that the first civilized man who crossed the Chicago Portage was the dauntless pioneer, René Robert Cavelier Sieur de la Salle. We know that two years of his life in America are involved in obscurity; and his own journal and maps relating to this period, though in the possession of one of his relatives a century later, have disappeared. But an anonymous manuscript exists purporting to contain an account of his explorations during these years, related by La Salle himself. This states that in 1671 La Salle set forth on Lake Erie, crossed Lake Huron, passed the Straits of Mackinac and La Baye des Puants, which we call Green Bay, and discovered an incomparably larger bay, which doubt-

less was the southern part of Lake Michigan. At its foot towards the west he found "a very good port," and at the end of this a stream going from the east to the west. This port, it is thought by Francis Parkman, whose opinion is of the utmost weight, may have been the entrance to the Chicago River, and the stream the Des Plaines branch of the Illinois. If this manuscript is correct, La Salle was at the site of Chicago two years before Joliet and Marquette. He was the real discoverer of the Great West, for he planned its occupation and began its settlement; and he alone of the men of his time appreciated its boundless possibilities, and with prophetic eye saw in the future its wide area peopled by his own race. It seems very fitting that a city which is the incarnation of the energy, the courage, and the enterprise which animated his iron frame should begin its annals with the splendid name of La Salle.

Assuming, then, that he was the first, the next visitors to Chicago, who are usually spoken of as the earliest, were Louis Jolliet, usually written Joliet, and Jacques (James) Marquette. Returning from their famous journey on the Mississippi River, they doubtless crossed the portage from the Des Plaines River to the south branch, and went by way of the Chicago River to Lake Michigan, and along its western shore to the present Green Bay, in the late summer or early fall of the year 1673. Father Marquette in his narrative of this journey mentions the river — that is, the Illinois — which brought them with little trouble to the Lake of Illinois (now Lake Michigan). He says, "We have seen nothing like this river for the fertility of its land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver, its many little lakes and rivers." He speaks of the portage of half a league and of the escort which one of the native chiefs gave them to the Lake of the Illinois. These friendly Indian hosts accompanied Joliet and Marquette from the town of Kaskaskia, which was situated on the broad meadow opposite Starved Rock, or, as some think, nearer to the present town of Joliet, and probably bade them good-by upon what is now the Chicago River.

It is curious to notice that Joliet, who was the leader of the party and especially charged by the government with the discovery of the great river, has had less of the resulting honor than Marquette, though the larger part was rightfully his share. Marquette himself says: —

Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and Mr. Talon, then our intendant, selected for the enterprise the Sieur Jollyet, whom they deemed competent for so great a design, wishing to see Father Marquette accompany him. They were not mistaken in their choice of the Sieur Jolliet; for he was a young man born in the country, and endowed with every quality that could be desired in such an enterprise. He possessed experience and a knowledge of the languages of the Ottawa Country, where he had spent several years; he had the tact and prudence so necessary for the success of a voyage equally dangerous and difficult; and, lastly, he had courage to fear nothing where all is to be feared.

Joliet's failure to receive his due meed of fame results entirely from the fact that Marquette's narrative of their voyage was preserved; while all of Joliet's papers, including his carefully prepared report to his government, and a very exact map, were lost by the upsetting of his canoe in the rapids above Montreal, when he had almost completed his return trip.

Joliet prepared from recollection an account of his voyage, and sketched a map, both of which Frontenac sent to France. This map, and perhaps others from his hand, have recently come to light; and we have also a statement prepared by Father Claude Dablon, Superior General of the Jesuit Missions in America, from information furnished him by Joliet, who speaks in it as enthusiastically as did Father Marquette about the Illinois River, which, he says, "is large and deep, full of barbels and sturgeon; game is found in abundance on its banks; the wild cattle, cows, stags, turkeys, appear more there than elsewhere. . . . There are prairies there six, ten, and twenty leagues long, and three wide, surrounded by forests of equal extent, beyond which the prairies begin again." Certainly, no State in the Union has received more complimentary mention from its first visitors than Illinois.

It further appears from this statement that either Joliet or Father Dablon himself, but probably the former, was the first to suggest a ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River. For the good father, in his remarks upon the utility of Joliet's discovery, says: —

A very important advantage (of it), and which some will perhaps find it hard to credit, is that we can quite easily go to Florida in boats, and by a very good navigation. There would be but one canal to make by cutting only one-half a league of prairie to pass from the lake of the Illinois (Michigan) into St. Louis River (Des Plaines). The route to be taken is this: the bark should be built in Lake Erie which is near Lake Ontario; it would pass easily from Lake Erie to Lake Huron, from which it would enter the Lake of the Illinois. At the extremity of this lake would be the cut or canal of which I have spoken to have a passage to St. Louis River, which empties into the Mississippi. The bark having thus entered this river would sail easily to the Gulf of Mexico.

If ever the proposed ship canal from Lake Michigan to the Illinois River is constructed, it will not be amiss to associate with it the name of the first projector of such a work, Louis Joliet.

Count Frontenac wrote the French government in 1674 that Joliet left with the missionaries at Sault Ste. Marie copies of his journals. "These," he says, "we cannot get before next year"; and Father Dablon, speaking of the loss of Joliet's narrative and map, says, "Father Marquette kept a copy of that which has been lost." Thus far neither of these copies has come to light, but I do not despair of the finding of one or both. The joy of the discovery is, I trust, reserved for some ardent antiquarian, who will eagerly unroll the time-stained pages and find in them something more than we now know of the Chicago of 1673. Perhaps he will thus reveal the names of the five other French men who accompanied Joliet and Marquette through their entire voyage, and were with them here, and one of whom revisited Chicago with Marquette in the following year. Of these five men we know nothing more, save that it is probable that one of them was a victim of the catastrophe at the Sault Ste. Louis, just by La Salle's old seignory of La Chine, which put such a luckless ending to this otherwise successful exploration. We may be proud to inscribe the name of Louis Joliet upon the muster-roll of the early visitors to Chicago, for he would have been no mean citizen of any city.

History accords to the brave young priest Marquette the right to be called the earliest resident of Chicago, because of his dreary encampment by the banks of the Chicago River in the winters of 1674–75 on his second journey to the Illinois. He was attended by two faithful French voyageurs, Pierre Porteret and Jacques ——, whose last name is unknown. Father Dablon says that one of these men, but does not tell us which, was with Marquette on his former voyage. I am aware that South Chicago, Evanston, and possibly other places, are inclined to dispute with Chicago the honor of this visit from Marquette; but Chicago will not yield to any of them her first City Father, without a struggle.

An attempt has been made to show, from Marquette's journal of his journey, that he wintered upon the Calumet River, and not upon the Chicago. We learn from this document that he set out from the Mission of St. Francis, which was on the site of the town of Green Bay, October 25, 1674, crossed the portage from Sturgeon Bay to Lake Michigan, and followed its western shore southward; and after various detentions, on December 4,

he says: "We started well to reach Portage River, which was frozen half a foot thick. There was more snow there than anywhere else." To identify Portage River with the Calumet, it is necessary to assume that Marquette spent nine days in going from the Chicago River to the Calumet, a distance of twelve miles, or an average of one and one-third miles per day; while, up to his arrival at the Chicago River, he had travelled at the rate of seven miles a day, including all delays. It is also necessary to assume that he made a portage between the Grand Calumet, and the Little Calumet, where there is no portage now, and went up the Little Calumet to Stony Brook, near the present town of Blue Island, then up Stony Brook, and by way of the "Sag" to the Des Plaines,— a route which, so far as known, has never been followed by any other traveller, is not laid down on any map, and there is no evidence of its use at any time. I should except, perhaps, an account in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society of the ruins of an old fort, on the line of the "Sag" in the town of Palos, in Cook County, from which it has been argued that this must have been a French fort, that the French would not have had a fort except upon a stream, that a stream is of no use unless it is navigable, and that Father Marquette was the best man to navigate it, and therefore did so. I cannot accept the argument; but I am greatly interested in the fort, and should be glad some day to lead an exploring party in search of it. To my mind, the most convincing proof that the Chicago River is the Portage River of Marquette and Joliet is the account which the latter gives in Dablon's statement that the cutting of half a league of prairie, but a little over a mile, would enable a bark to pass from Lake Michigan to the Des Plaines River. This could not be true of the route by the Calumet, Stony Brook, and the "Sag," where a twelve-mile canal would be necessary for a small vessel to pass, and is applicable only to the short portage between the South Branch and the Des Plaines, which must therefore have been the route followed by Joliet and by Marquette on his second journey.

It was the Chicago River, therefore, over whose frozen surface the valiant missionary toiled on that bleak December day. It was on its banks that he penned that journal, which doubtless was the first literary production ever written in Chicago, and which gives us such a picture of the unselfishness, the heroism, and the sanctity of that lovely soul. We cannot give up Father Marquette; for his association with Chicago's site is amongst the most precious of its early memories. The feeling

that he in some measure belongs to Chicago lends a new interest to that brief but beautiful life which began in 1637 in the little city of Laon, in Northern France, and ended in 1675 on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan.

Father Marquette's Narrative of his Voyages and Discoveries in the Valley of the Mississippi, from which the passage in the present leaflet is taken, is given entire in John G. Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. This narrative was prepared for publication in 1678 by Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the missions of the Society of Jesus in Canada, who added the account of Marquette's second voyage, death, and burial. The unfinished letter of Father Marquette to Father Dablon, containing a journal of his last visit to the Illinois, is given (in the original French) in the appendix to Shea's work. Marquette's account of his discovery of the Mississippi, taken from the same work as the present leaflet, was given in one of the leaflets (No. 2) of the Old South series for 1889. There are very full notices of Marquette and the writings concerning him in the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv. There is a biography in Sparks's series of American Biographies; and a full and graphic account in Parkman's *Discovery of the Great West*.